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WAR AND EDUCATION

VOYAGE
AND
ADVENTURE

By PORTER SARGENT

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN PRIVATE SCHOOLS
27TH AN. ED., 1943

EDUCATION IN WARTIME, 1942

GETTING U S INTO WAR, 1941

WHAT MAKES LIVES, 1940

EDUCATION, A REALISTIC APPRAISAL, 1939

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WAR AND EDUCATION

BY
PORTER SARGENT

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IN THIS BOOK
LET US DO OBEISANCE

NOT TO THE DEAD OR DYING GODS,—
THE GREAT GOD BUNK, THE REVERED GODDESS ALMA MATER, NOR TO IRVIN
COBB'S AUTO-GOD HASTE OR WILLIAM JAMES' BITCH-GODDESS SUCCESS,—
BUT TO WHATEVER LIVING GODS MAY BE,—
THE UNKNOWN GODS, NEW GODS TO FIT A NEW AGE, GODS IN THE IMAGE
OF MAN THAT IS TO BE, HIM OF THE TOUGHER IDEALS, THE STOUTER FAITH,
WHO CAN FACE THE NEW REALITIES UNFLINCHINGLY AND FIND A WAY.

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THIS TITLE

A book without a preface would be like a sideshow without a barker, a corporation without a publicity department, an actor without a press agent. The pre-face is the author's mask or false face. The eighteenth century author's foreword or apology was designed to ingratiate himself with his prospective patron. Today it is to the publisher and his idea of the bookstore buyer that the author kowtows. Such few as remain independent beat their tom toms as they please.

Our title will serve as both our apology and foreword, in tune with the times. Both abstractions, 'war' and 'education', are in the air and on the air. Each is a signal or symbol arousing recurrent emotions,—and both cover a multitude of sins. To varying minds each stands for wholly different stereotypes.

War is generally thought of as opposed to peace, as black to white, good to bad. War is affirmative, dynamic; peace is negative, inactive. The word 'peace' connotes a condition when energy is accumulating, 'war' when energy is expending. But pacifists seem to belie this. They are all for fighting all the time. Set them splitting wood all day, and they will still split hairs all night,—and fight about it!

'War' is a word that brings to some a picture of all that is militant, brave, noble. To others it brings pictures of distress glibly phrased 'the horrors of war'. (1) Words are traps. Let us beware of them. This book is about human behavior and its adjustment.

The actualities of war are another matter. To the feckless and goalless, war may actually bring meaning to life, 'make a man of him'. To the discontented or resentful war may be a means of readjusting his position in the world, as it may to the ambitious.

"The word 'education' . . . seems to be pronounced or written with a sort of reverence, as if it expressed something sacred. It appears to rank decidedly higher in the professional vocabulary than 'training', 'instruction', or 'indoctrination', terms that are even used to disparage methods not deemed worthy of the honorable name, 'education'. . . . Nowadays in professional discussions of educational matters it sometimes seems as if certain words were being used like the magical formulae of ancient

incantations. There seems to be a kind of mystical belief that results will be cabalistically produced by the mere repetition of these glowing terms", writes Louis Foley in "Word-Education and the Word, Education", *School and Society*, Aug. 23, 1941.

'Equipping for a fuller life', 'passing on the heritage of the race',—constant reiteration of such stale phrases may lead to the belief that that's just what the educators are doing. Actually the process to which the young are being subjected may be stultifying, so as to render them incapable of the 'fuller life', or it may be edging them into an attitude of bland acceptance and subservience.

"Education is nothing else than taking on the arts and sciences and moral attitudes which make up the fabric of Civilization", remarks Henry Morrison, endeavoring to throw some light on what he calls the "meaningless" term. "Education is an organic or natural process, common in the broadest sense to pretty much the whole animal kingdom. . . . Learning how to get on in the world is adjustment." (2)

'Education' covers all we do to the young in the process of their growing up. About this abstraction there is much to-do. It has to do with what we do in training and conditioning youth to do what we want them to do. Idealists paint word pictures of what they would do with the child, but all too often it is a dream that fails to come true. There is awakening of late to the harm education does. But as most educators follow traditional ways held sacred, we forgive them for they know not what they do.

So education and war are abstractions, used to advertise this book which really deals with problems of adjustment and maladjustment of human behavior of individuals or groups in response to their environment, of which others and other groups are a part. And by behavior we mean of course mental behavior and emotional behavior as we interpret them from motor reactions, which are all that we can know.

So the book is about behavior, eh? Well, if you have any prejudices about that word, consider it to be about human ecology, which has to do with the way the human organism reacts with reference to its whole environment. The approach, then, is biological as well as neurological.

If we can present a stimulating picture of phases of human behavior and how they were brought about, then if we can portray and forecast a different type of behavior that may be possible in the future, we will have achieved our purpose.

If we can bring the reader to say, "I do not agree",—as is more than probable,—then it is hoped we may also stimulate him to explain, at least to himself, just 'how', in what way, he disagrees.

Questions as to 'why' come from the child or the immature adult who must look to some final authority who determined all in advance. We have no answers to 'why' and hold no blueprints for the future. "The pageant of the moment passes, but still comes."

NOTES

(1) "Something of the horrors of war, and much too much of the worse horrors of peace" H. L. Mencken confesses to have seen, in his "Newspaper Days" (Knopf, 1941). "On five several occasions I have been offered the learned degree of 'legum doctor', though few men are less learned in the law than I am, or have less respect for it; and at other times I have been invited to come in and be lynched by the citizens of three of the great Christian states of the Union. Such prodigies and monstrosities I could pile up for hours."

The chief 'horror' that impresses Irvin Cobb is the inevitable moral and intellectual degradation. In his autobiographical "Exit Laughing" (Bobbs-Merrill, 1941) he tells, "In Flanders and in France I had seen War . . . stripped of all the spurious passementerie in which the stay-at-home exploiters of quickened young flesh and supple young bones delight to dress it up. I mean the profiteers and buccaneers; editorial incendiaries and street-corner agitators and professional saber-rattlers . . . mousy diplomatists and swinish contractors; and behind these, the enterprising munition-makers seeking commerce in an governmental market. . . . English-built machine guns . . . even then were mowing down Englishmen, and German shells . . . killing German troops. . . . I had seen the flower of the youth of Europe turned into pestilential carrion and decent men reduced to the level of beasts." Cobb cannot "look upon war as pageantry or majesty or spiritual transformation", but as "a bloated abortion with dollar marks on its flanks . . . dragging its gross belly across the face of the land, rending and spoiling what all it does not devour".

Cobb is a humorist. That means the tears run down inside. For often the funny man is at heart serious. Aristophanes could slay his enemies with laughter, and Voltaire run them through with his rapier of wit and satire. The wise man in King Lear must play the Fool. Like all king's jesters, Mark Twain, Will Rogers, Bernard Shaw draw the laugh to escape the sting of the whip.

So, joining the ranks of the jesters, Cobb quotes Jacques, "Motley's the only wear. I am ambitious for a motley coat. . . . I must have liberty withal, as large a charter as the wind, to blow on whom I please; for so fools have. . . . Invest me in my motley; give me leave to speak my mind, and I will through and through cleanse the foul body of the infected world, if they will patiently receive my medicine".

Dr. Alice Hamilton, who has devoted her life to improving industrial conditions, writing of the result of the blockade after the Armistice in 1919, describes "the slow destruction of people of flesh and blood . . . hospital wards full of children with multiple bone tuberculosis, with great masses of tuberculous glands . . . tuberculosis of the lungs, and the form called lupus, 'the wolf', because it eats into the skin, forming deep ulcers . . . an outdoor hospital . . . naked boys lay in the sunshine, the only thing that the blockade could not shut out, their ribs and shoulder blades showing through their skin, their arms and legs like sticks [there are millions in India continually like that] . . . their mid-day lunch a bowl of soup made of coarse meal—12 per cent bran—and green leaves with a few drops of vegetable margarine . . . children of three years who had never been able to learn to walk, boys of thirteen and fourteen who were little old men, shrunk and weazened". (*Nation*, Dec. 14, 1930)

(2) Henry C. Morrison in his "Curriculum of the Common School" (University of Chicago Press, 1940) thus recognizes the "adjustment" as well as the "erudition" theory of education. The "prize" goes to him who has "adaptability, that is, the capacity to meet a very wide range of adjustments as the need arises. Hence, it has been said, with great penetration as I think, that 'we do not learn what to do, but rather become the kind of people who will know what to do'. . . . Apart from effective upbringing and instruction, education is perhaps about as likely to go wrong as to go right. . . . The forces at work have nothing to do with ethics or right living in normal social relations."

Illustrative is Mortimer Adler, who believes education is "the process whereby the powers of human nature become developed by good habits". He reports that both he and President Hutchins were "shocked" when in a course in the philosophy of education "the class objected . . . suggesting that education might just as well be a development of bad habits". (*Harpers*, Oct., 1940)

Those who clothe themselves in abstractions may be embarrassed when in the light of reality their garb proves diaphanous and fragile. Rudely awakened, they curse the new day of the new power technology. Unaware that there are greater dreams ahead, dreams they never dreamed, they object to adjusting their dreams to reality.

THIS BOOK

In the midst of war and the activities unexpectedly thrust upon educators unprepared and already in a state of confusion, this book attempts to appraise realistically what education is, has been, and might be. Relations, moreover, may be discovered between the world's present systems of education and its current systems of wars.

"War and Education" presents significant information not too generally accepted and suggests interpretations that are not current in our universities nor in the educational institutions that they dominate. This, —though Mill insisted a century ago that for the average man to attain complete mental maturity, enthusiastic consideration of the controversial, bold and free thinking on submerged subjects, is indispensable.(1)

But intellectual pabulum is not enough. We need also mental vitamins for those who suffer from intellectual malnutrition, not only to make them more aware, but to give them courage. Just as we need dandelions and tonics in the spring, we need something more than the usual newspaper diet, something to take us out of our usual line of thought, to make us a bit more daring in our intellectual adventuring.

Those who should be foremost in courageous thinking, those who have had all the so-called advantages of education, our college and university alumni, are with the rarest exceptions little enough interested in daring thought. For the most part they have been so conditioned that in the presence of unfamiliar ideas they are cautious.

Awakened minds, avid for intellectual stimulation are, however, to be found in every class of our society. There are in my files letters from men and women hungry for straight thought and talk. They come seeking encouragement and stimulus,—young and old, of every class, industrialists, corporation presidents, girls, mothers, working men, vagabonds, and even university presidents and professors.(2)

The citadel of human ignorance does not succumb to direct assault. The growing consciousness of man, his awareness to the world about him, is more readily accelerated by strategic infiltration from many directions and at unsuspected moments.

Most writers on war or education traditionally follow the medieval

scholarly plan of setting up a thesis or elaborating a theory and then seeking out facts or authorities to prove it. Here it is my purpose to first select the tested facts and then to arrange them in some pattern from which preliminary deductions may be drawn. The method is to observe and deduce and then tentatively to interpret. That style of mental behavior is in accordance with the training and inspiration that I owe to great teachers.

The approach, all too unfamiliar to many, is biological, due to an early interest in the things that attract those who are called 'naturalists',—the forms of clouds, crystals, or crabs. This mental normality was enhanced by years of work in the biological laboratories at Cambridge, Newport, and Woods Hole. All this has undoubtedly made me unduly unsympathetic with unnaturalists.

Laboratory training in physical and biological sciences consisted largely in my teachers challenging my observations and developing in me the habit of questioning all observations. I learned that while 'finality' could not be arrived at and 'accuracy' was not possible, increased precision reduced the percentage of error.

From Shaler I derived the long view of the paleontologist over hundreds of millions of year of life processes. And Charles Eliot Norton aroused a critical discontent, through his esthetic view of our gauche American taste and culture as he saw it, which later during our Spanish War was considered unpatriotic.

Those who follow this approach are not restricted to revelations that have come only from the past. In observing change and directing trends, where everything is in motion, new and more marvelous revelations come to them. Galaxies, nebulae, molecules, atoms and their elements, all are in constant movement except at the postulated absolute zero where movement ceases. Change is the only constant. So there is no looking for first causes and no expectation of arriving at finalities.

The biologist, observing a marked change, calls it a mutation. In political affairs a great change in the social set up is called a revolution. Adjustment in rock strata to stress, delayed, may produce earthquakes. Revolutions, too, may be due to delayed adjustment.

Today we live under conditions that are new, but are governed by customs that are old, our thoughts controlled by codes that are ancient. That portends imminent change that may be violent. The philosophical minded scientists who look upon societies as organisms might

regard such a marked change as a social mutation. (Cf pp 456-7)

It is obvious that I revert at times to the teleological language of my Presbyterian and Republican youth. Born and bred in those 'isms', since freeing myself I have avoided other 'isms'. But the old forms of expression will crop out. And there is no denying inconsistency. That's the first law of nature as I see it, and consistency Shakespeare thought a rare jewel.

Opinions, on the other hand, I do not claim to hold. They are to be avoided at this time when opinions given forth by others are so strong that the stench is overpowering. Giving forth opinions in public will some day be looked upon as crude. For an opinion is a conclusion (save the mark!), an end to thinking, that has been arrived at from incomplete and not too accurate observation under restricted conditions. The mind that has given birth to an opinion closes. It has done its job. Consequently opinions are cherished by those who hold them. They are loath to modify them and will defend them to the death. We pretend to a sort of chivalrous superiority in allowing the other man a 'right' to his opinion, though we loathe him for it.

Let none accuse me of being an unbeliever because I am skeptical of other peoples' beliefs. If there is skepticism here, let it not be confused with cynicism. The skeptic is the questioner, who doesn't necessarily accept the answer, and should not be confused with the cynic, who snarls at any attempted explanation.(3)

With me one belief has followed another as new views of life and how it functions have come to me. The know-nothing, agnostic attitude has never appealed. My faith in man and his future gives me a feeling of certitude. For it is founded upon the ways of life, of adaptation and adjustment, that were pragmatically true, that worked, for man for millions of years and brought him from the ape upward.

Consequently there is no appeal to me in the preachments of those who in this confusion would timidly retreat to the ways of thought that were progressive and revolutionary some hundreds of years ago. Most of man's current beliefs came into existence in the short period of historic time. Of those few survive, and of our current beliefs few are likely to last long.

Nor do I respond to the indiscriminate complaints about this "machine age". Though I hope men may again know the joy of craftsmanship and the creative act, how can anyone believe we will give up all

the new power and technology that has so raised the standard of living, so enriched our lives. Better slowly to adjust our thought, our ways, our precepts, our codes, to the realities of 20th century life than to abandon all these to go back to the life of the middle ages.

Education, which is supposed to prepare the young for life, has been out of tune with the life they have actually had to lead. Anachronistic precepts and practices of medieval times still control. Like all other social institutions education has developed a self-protective priestcraft, with traditions and tabus that tend to keep it in the rut. Even its leaders have been left confused and evasive, without understanding or emotional control.

Our present system of education must assume some of the responsibility for our present wastes and wars. That's a bitter pill for us educators, but it may lead some of us to 'take thought'. Look away where our loyalties and emotions are less involved. If the Japanese had not been schooled in the myth of their divine emperor and the destiny of their race, if this had not been an essential part of their education, would not their morale, their war spirit be different?(4) We too have our sacred beliefs that have been inculcated in home, in school, and in church. In all humility let us be thankful they are not so anachronistic as those of Japan.

Until it is shown that our educational practices are ineffective and harmful, there will be no call for the new, no reason for change. So there is need for iconoclasm today. The tangle in our mental growth must be cleared. Criticism need not always be constructive. There is a time for building and a time for tearing down that which has been builded, as Ecclesiastes might have said. There is a use for bulldozers to clear away the slash.

Once we are convinced that changes must be made, a thousand minds will go to work making blueprints, devising new plans, blowing bubbles. Then let the constructive critics get to work. Constructive criticism of blueprints for air castles without foundations is a waste of energy.

When our education is free and natural, more closely related to the realities of life, when it brings us greater awareness and increased consciousness of the world about us, we may hate less and understand more. We may find ways of bringing about the essential and lasting changes that come out of war and revolution, less spasmodically, more continuously,—so that they would be more like the quality of mercy, a gentle rain from heaven.

Adjustment to relatively static conditions had brought a security that has now been destroyed. Failure to gradually readjust to the new conditions, as men of vision had foreseen, resulted in sudden readjustment, violent change, war and revolution.

The present effort toward complete readjustment may be halted. The safety valve again may be clamped down. That will mean further and more fundamental adjustments eventually,—or extinction. That has been the story countless times, with civilizations and with species now known only through their fossil remains.

This war is only an episode in the long series of necessary transitions from our nineteenth century liberal culture to a new social order that has been shaping itself within the womb of time. The old dream is fading, but a new one is struggling for birth.

It is difficult for those trained in the old traditions to give them up when, lacking the modern scientific attitude, they have nothing to look forward to. Our universities are still filled with learned and cultured men who, like Matthew Arnold, live "wandering between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born". They cannot overcome their nostalgic reluctance to go forward.

But there is enough enlightenment and intelligence in the world to insure that the new era will not be stillborn, if men of goodwill can gain understanding, in this time of control of communication and distortion of information, of forces that determine, and what they are.

* * *

Necessary personal adjustments to war conditions, and consequent depletion of energy and staff not only held up this book, but the better half, the heart of it, is still held,—materials for a study of "The Nature of Peace and War", which may yet be shaped and published. It will not follow the orthodox political and historical treatment.

NOTES

(1) "Not that it is solely, or chiefly, to form great thinkers, that freedom of thinking is required. On the contrary, it is as much and even more indispensable to enable average human beings to attain the mental stature which they are capable of. There have been and may again be, great individual thinkers in a general atmosphere of mental slavery. But there never has been, nor ever will be, in that atmosphere an intellectually active people. . . . Never when controversy avoided the subjects which are large and important enough to kindle enthusiasm, was the mind of a people stirred up from its foundations, and the

impulse given which raised even persons of the most ordinary intellect to something of the dignity of thinking beings." (John Stuart Mill, in "Utilitarianism, Liberty, and Representative Government")

(2) A retired university professor, now a factory manager, writes me, February 24, 1943, "I find in my own contacts what are referred to as 'the masses' are more innately intelligent and capable of reaching more honest conclusions than 'the more privileged'. At the present time this large group is thoroughly sick of radio propaganda under O.W.I., so much so that many habitual radio listeners have ceased listening, except sporadically, to any programs whatsoever."

(3) Steuart Henderson Britt in his "Social Psychology of Modern Life" (Farrar & Rinehart, 1941) admirably explains his attitude, which I should like to think is mine. "An attempt has been made in this book to engender a certain degree of healthy skepticism. The word 'skepticism' is used to denote an intellectual curiosity about the society in which we live. . . . Skepticism should not be confused with cynicism—they are not at all synonymous. The word 'healthy' in healthy skepticism may be explained by an analogy. If you are occasionally skeptical about your good health, a careful physical examination may reveal certain changes in your living which would be desirable. Likewise, an objective examination of society may suggest certain desirable social changes. . . . One difficulty with any analysis is that the one who makes it may be accused of attacking society. Again, an analogy may be useful. Suppose that this was a book on the physiology of the teeth. Critics might say: 'This man is attacking teeth, for he does not show up their beautiful characteristics. He does not say much about the good that teeth do, and he offers us no substitute.' That would be analogous to a belief that the present book is an attack on society, because we have not always 'pointed with pride', but have realistically examined our social behavior."

(4) "The schooling of the high-class Japanese, at once archaic and ultra-modern, reflects a wish to preserve all the vested privileges of their rank, and includes a painstaking survey of all the factors and all the findings of science having a direct and an indirect influence on modern affairs. Together with the regular curriculums of the best educational institutions of the Japanese Empire, and with an early military training, it strives to prepare the sons of 'those who have the right to give orders' for their role in the national life, and in that struggle for international supremacy—or at least for Asiatic and Pacific supremacy—which is, among the Japanese, the equivalent of what the self-appointed duty of conquering for the faith of Allah at the point of the sword was among the Moslem of old." (J. Paar-Cabrera, "Japan at War", *Commonweal*, July 31, 1942)

POWER INCREASE

How enormously the power available to us today has increased over the power our ancestors could command is little realized. Without full consciousness and understanding of this there could be little adjustment. That is yet to come. Our immediate forebears were almost wholly dependent on their own muscular power or that of their enslaved animals or fellows. Today in the United States, for each of the population an average of fifteen horsepower is expended. (1)

"The American housewife . . . has in her home the equivalent of . . . 60 servants" and "75 or a 100 . . . horses stabled in the family garage", C. F. Kettering declares, assuming equality of distribution in all households.

Few lords in their medieval castles had any such power at their command. And the king, with all his lords and their thousands of retainers, could not exert more than a few thousand horsepower. A Pharaoh or a Xerxes, we hear, could command a million men or more, but with all their horsemen that was equivalent to only a few hundred thousand horsepower.

The greatest release of power through human agency of even a generation or so ago is puny compared with the power that can be released today when the President throws a switch to turn the water of a Grand Coulee through the turbines. And there has been an increase of 16% in water power made available in the year 1942.

We Americans "are the world's largest producers and consumers" of power, and the world's greatest wasters. There is danger lest we be drunk with power. (2)

This modern increase in power available, with invention that has gone with it, has made the airplane and the radio possible and brought together the ends of the earth.

Man has sought from primitive times for means to augment the puny one-tenth horsepower he could exert through his own muscles. Domesticated animals and enslaved fellows yielded their muscular energy to his compulsion. Even to within a few generations that was the chief source of power, though from the earliest times fire, wind, and water increasingly helped, in sharpening tools, driving boats, milling grain.

With the utilization of the expansive force of steam as motive power, coal, which had been locally burned from the earliest times, came into increasing use. In the century from 1830 to 1930 the fortyfold increase in power was largely from coal. It has for two hundred years remained the largest source of power. It made possible a great increase in production of materials. Five thousand times more steel was produced in Great Britain in 1900 than two hundred years earlier.

As the use of petroleum for power has increased, its by-products have yielded plastics. As waterpower has increased it has made possible the electrolytic separation of the lighter metals. So the coal and iron age gives way to the new.

Little more than a hundred years ago 98% of the total power available was derived from muscle. That energy was derived from seeds or the tissues of other animals. Today of the power man directs only 1.3% comes from his own muscles, 2.5% from draft animals. Even water power, rapidly increasing in utilization, provides only 6% of the power used. All that energy had come from the sun within the time that water could be stored at a height or grain remain edible. More than half of the power we use today, 56%, still comes from coal, nearly a quarter, 22%, from petroleum.(3)

This energy, which came from the sun in past geological ages, was stored up by the life of the time and has been preserved in the earth's strata. The time will come when this source of energy is exhausted and the brief period of our saprophytic life will end.(4)

Meantime the sun is still raising water from the ocean and carrying it to heights over the lands. That water seeking its way back to the sea has exerted power in the past to wear down mountain ranges. With improved technologies in the transmission of power over long distances, man is led to exert greater energy and ingenuity in harnessing the power of this water racing to the sea. There will be more Bonnevilles and Grand Coulees and TVA's in this country, and the Volga project in Russia will supply double that of all three combined. (Cf p 475)

But on our present program there will be an increase by 1946 of power available in this country of 50%, from 42 to 64 million kilowatts, it is estimated by the Federal Power Commission. And increasingly this power is controlled by the government. Thus concentrated, it will be easier for men of persuasive powers to seize and control even greater power than any men exert today.(5)

NOTES

(1) S. R. Humby and E. J. F. James in "Science and Education" (Cambridge University Press, 1942) attract our attention to the contrast in the power now available and in former times. The thirty years labor of a hundred thousand men with which Cheops built his great pyramid was an insignificant expenditure of power by modern standards. Thirty slaves working continuously in three relays of eight hours equalled only one horsepower continuously exerted. Equivalent to the labor of four billion slaves is the power today developed from burning coal and falling water. The 130 million horsepower so developed today is equal to the labor of two slaves for each of the two billion inhabitants of the earth today, whether they wear a loin cloth or a crown.

(2) "Horsepower Is War Power: How Industry is Powering Our Military Machine", *Scientific American*, July, 1942, by C. F. Kettering, Vice President of General Motors in charge of Research, is the source of many of the ideas here presented. He tells us that 65% of the total horsepower developed in America in time of peace is from internal combustion engines. America in this century has produced 80 million automotive vehicles, producing 4 billion horsepower.

What this means appears only from comparison. "The strongest athlete . . . in sustained effort . . . is good for only about one tenth horsepower", or "two and a half horsepower for perhaps a minute at a time". That would be "barely sufficient to turn a 12-inch electric fan. . . . To make your toast in the morning requires more power than five able-bodied men can generate by turning an electric dynamo."

"For every soldier in a modern mechanized division there are 32 horsepower behind him, twice as much as in time of peace", equivalent to "the combined power of 320 men. In a tank, he may have the equivalent of 1000 men acting from his orders. . . . The mechanized division is made up of about 12,700 men and officers." With 2700 automotive vehicles, "more than 400,000 horsepower are available", equivalent to "the effort that could be exerted by 4,000,000 men".

(3) These percentages are approximately derived from Chase's "Economy of Abundance" (1934). J. G. Crowther in "The Social Relations of Science" (Macmillan, 1941) tells us that water provides 10% of the power, 90% coming from minerals, coal and oil. "The known deposits of coal would supply the present rate of consumption for two thousand years. The deposits of oil known until recently were sufficient only for some ten years. But fifty new oil and gas pools were discovered in Texas alone in 1935. This was largely due to geophysical methods of prospecting."

In 1923 coal mining was "virtually all done by human muscle alone". The development of mining machinery and open cut mining has reduced the manpower needed, though the product has increased. The continuance in the use of coal is due to the fact that we can utilize its energy better. The cost of producing electricity from steam has been reduced by the advance in technology. To produce one kilowatt for one hour in 1880 required ten pounds of coal, in 1935 less than one pound.

(4) Liberty today is dependent on petroleum. Rukeyser remarks, "The war, we know, will ultimately be decided by air power—since this is a struggle for control of the air over the earth, the new continent which has been discovered, invaded, and disputed in this century—supplies, and their transportation—since the Nazi armies are based on the reality of a growing chemical empire which is in economic conflict with another chemical empire—and the issue of personal liberty, wherever there is a human being in the world; as well as by the actual fighting. And all of these are interdependent. They are factors in the drive, through war and peace, to a dynamic equilibrium." (Rukeyser, "Willard Gibbs", Doubleday, Doran, 1942.)

(5) All men have longed for power,—

To bend his fellow to his will,
 The strength to make things come to pass.
 With power,—money, time, are naught.
 With energy I can reverse the planets in their courses,
 Or tear the fixed stars from their sockets.
 I may turn back the onward flow of progress,
 Or speed the time when all men will be gods.

When first we trod this Mother Earth
 The only force we could command,
 As with our simian ancestors, was our own
 Thews and sinews, our muscular contractions.
 But soon with wedge, and bar, and roller,
 Man learned to multiply his energy tenfold.

Then sought we slaves, and with sword and scourge
 We made men yield their energy to us,
 And setting slaves to levers, Pharaohs built colossally.
 Still we breed, and buy with bread
 Our fellows to operate machines.

But we've learned through coal and oil and gas
 To tap the stored-up energy of bygone time.
 Today we live a saprophytic life, this buried wealth,
 Heritage of the past, source of our present power.
 And so the slaves that labor for us now
 Lived countless years ago in carboniferous swamp.

But in our time this buried treasure,
 Of those who lived before, may be used up.
 Then must we strike the shackles from the atom
 And harness this loosed power to our ends,
 Put nose-rings in the comets,
 And hold the stars in leash.

—"A Prayer for Energy", by Porter Sargent,
 from "Spoils from a Crowded Life", 1935.

TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE

The first curious anthropologists who discovered in the clays and streambeds of France and England chipped stones which they theorized had been artificially created by early man for use as hand axes, were scornfully regarded. It was claimed that these pebbles had been chipped by the stream action or faked by the finders. Such eoliths or 'dawn stones' have since been found all over the world and have been geologically determined as hundreds of thousands of years old. They are now generally accepted as the earliest extant evidence of man's invention to make better use of his muscular power in striking, cutting, hewing.

During the long period that we call the Paleolithic, many new techniques were devised for chipping flint and shaping scrapers, arrowheads, stone axes. The use of these better tools brought great advance in the standard of living, and with the beautifully polished implements of the Neolithic the elements of human culture had been well developed.

Better tools, the use of slaves and domesticated animals, better shelter, better food, were all the results of man's attempts to use his own muscular power more effectively, more economically. It is to this human tendency to escape effort, to lighten labor, that technological advance has been attributed by some students of human behavior. This law of the economy of effort, of inertia or laziness, call it what you will, is merely a generalization that some men have used their cortex rather than their muscles. This simian trait has not always resulted in technological invention, and from those who sweat has sometimes brought contempt on those who live by their wits.(1)

The wedge, in the flint flake or the hand ax used as a cutting edge, was probably the first of the 'elements of the machine' that primitive man used. In the lever he early discovered a means of magnifying his own muscular power. Even before the invention of the wheel, the continuous lever, man had brought the wind and the wave to obey his will. Wind caught by crude sails propelled the dugout. The rice of China and Japan in rural districts is hulled by a kind of stamp mill, a poised beam with a box at one end into which water runs. As the increased weight depresses that end of the beam, the water spills out and the stamp at the other end

falls into the mortar, pounding the rice to be hulled. The water box again fills and the process is endlessly repeated with little human attention, as for thousands of years past.

Out of the Stone Age came the use of metals, first perhaps native copper, silver, and gold. Later bronze was smelted, and much later iron. The bronze sword brought a new instrument for aggression and destroyed the Minoan civilization. Better systems of organization, with iron spearheads, brought the phalanx, by which one ethnic group triumphed over those who lacked the advanced technology. And so changes in dominant groups, the result of technological advance, have gone right on up to the triumph of the English-speaking peoples who boasted, "Whatever happens we have got,—the Maxim gun and they have not".

About 1700 with the increasing use of coal for steampower, the march of civilization was accelerated. Machine industry brought it to the quickstep. These past hundred years it has been coming on at the doublequick, and the last few decades at the charge. (2)

New forces came to be utilized in challenging or insuring the security of walled towns. Elasticity and torsion, with the aid of the lever and the wheel, in the ballista and catapult, propelled heavy stone. The swinging pendulum of the battering ram breached walls.

Chemical energy man learned to control to some extent when he first tamed fire, the greatest of man's achievements perhaps preceding the chipping of flint. Fire set by lightning or lava flow had till then been the greatest terror from which all had fled.

Technologies were early invented to produce fire at will, the rubbing stick, the bow and drill, and other means. Control of his former terror, fire, gave man great courage and lessened his fear of cold and darkness. These technologies for making fire were little improved for tens of thousands of years. Even among the more advanced cultures, within the memory of man, fire was still struck from flint and steel.

Chemical warfare is ancient. The technology of what was later known as 'Greek fire', from asphaltum or oil, originated where they were abundant in the Mesopotamian region. Technological improvements by the addition of sulphur and tar we owe to the Byzantines and Venetians. The modern chemist with his flame throwers and poison gas carries on.

Gunpowder, invented by Chinese technologists, in the West gave stimulus to inventions for its use. Cannon, originally iron bound hollowed logs or rolls of leather, eventually became our 16-inch Naval guns

or disappearing Coast Guard cannon that throw a ton projectile twenty miles. Huygens about 1680 used gunpowder to drive the piston of the first internal combustion engine.(3)

Invention results from need. And increase in available power makes it possible to supply new needs. With new sources of power, new machines become necessary to make use of it. This results in great acceleration in invention. The number of patents granted in the United States for the decade ending 1930 was 421,000, more than double the number in the decade ending 1890. Meantime electrical and water power had become available.

New machines threaten jobs, and new inventions threaten to make obsolete the old machines and jeopardize investment. So technological advance, which otherwise is determined by energy available, is slowed down by vested interests of both labor and capital.

Our social habits and behavior are determined by new technologies. New England farm families, like all others up to the nineteenth century, grew on their own land and produced with their own labor nearly everything to supply their needs, while today New England city families produce little or nothing of the things they consume.(4)

How greatly the life of peoples have been modified by Eli Whitney's invention of the device of interchangeable parts is little understood. It was about the close of the 18th century that, in order to make good on a contract for rifles, Whitney devised this new system. By means of taps and dies, all parts were made uniform and interchangeable. Formerly each was individually wrought. This required skilled craftsmanship. The new method required less skill but more power for machinery. Out of this invention have come our modern methods of manufacture in quantity. What was once hand made and consequently rare and expensive has been brought into common use. Mass production of tools and gadgets for cultivating, producing, ameliorating, has modified the cultures of the most remote and primitive peoples wherever these manufactures have been introduced.

Mass production through the use of interchangeable parts has made possible the supplying of better and more deadly weapons and increasingly larger armies. With the advance in our 'civilization' have come increased abilities and facilities for killing our fellows. With increased equipment, this art once confined to professionals is now imparted by conditioning, training, and drill to those who in the past would have been

peaceful. Increased power and improved technology, our proud boast of 'civilization', have made over the peasant tiller into the modern killer. (5)

War has always brought great stimulus to invention. War turns attention to material things and to improvements in technologies. Modern totalitarian war calls for the use of all resources human and material. Technological invention, with scientific research, leads to more economical or more effective ways of using available resources. It is the 'know how' that wins.

Technological and mechanical training becomes essential in wartime. Our educational machinery, appropriately enough, is being used with increasing effectiveness in the current war. Mathematics, physics, and chemistry are replacing the humanities in the liberal arts colleges. Those not equipped for scientific instruction are depleted in numbers and income and many will fail to survive.

The universities, first in war and first in peace, with subsidies from the government as well as the great foundations, have become hives for subsidized training of the armed forces and auxiliary services. (6)

"The National Defense Research Committee and the Office of Scientific Research and Development have assigned each research project to the university best equipped to pursue it, each carefully catalogued scientist to the project where his talents are most needed" (*Fortune*, Dec., 1942).

The scientists, once neglected, maintained on a small percentage of the national income, are now having their day. They have been marshalled and classified to aid in all the problems of organization and technological equipment of the greatest and most expensive army ever seen. (7)

Laboratories, greatly enlarged, with increased staff to undertake research contracts, are guarded by sentries and the strictest secrecy preserved. What is going on in these scientific laboratories is conservatively related in "Science Remakes the World" by James Stokley who makes apparent the increase of research that the war has brought. (8)

What will all these advances in technology mean for the world? An advance in technology, a new way of mastery of the resources and energies about us, is for all time. Perhaps the development of plastics will prove as significant as the invention of the art of chipping flint. New ways of releasing and controlling energy may develop that will be almost as significant as the mastery of fire.

A forecast of our technological future by Charles M. A. Stine, a DuPont official, has had wide circulation in pamphlet form. He tells us the

world we left behind in 1940 has already become a thing of antiquity. The latest manufactured automobiles have aged two decades in a year. If new cars were produced today, they would incorporate developments which could not otherwise have come before 1960. They would have sealed cooling systems such as now used in aviation. Lighter metals would reduce the weight one-half, new fuels increase their power and yield fifty miles to the gallon.

What were recently the rarest of metals are becoming commonplace in the production of new alloys. We have glass that will float and glass that won't break, wood that won't burn, and laminations of wood and plastics that compete with structural metals. Plastics we already have that are flexible, rigid, transparent, hard, resistant, spongy. There seems no limit to their adaptability to human requirements.

Our chemical industry, to which all these things have been added, started from the patents we confiscated from Germany on the outbreak of the first World War. The story of that is not a pretty one but out of it great things have come. But it took the present war to give stimulus to our chemical technologies.

Today we mine the atmosphere and recover from the ocean the metals and minerals that have been leached out of the earth. The magnesium of our airplanes comes out of the sea, and our silk stockings out of the air. We shall come out of the war with new drugs and chemicals that will kill not only our fellow men but bacteria, and so lay old fears and dreads.

With water and air and a little hydrocarbon, coal or oil, the modern genii of the lab create mechanical gadgets or silken luxuries that would astound Ariel.(9)

'Free as air' we still say. In the days of the pioneers the land too was free. The children of men, become more aware, may have abundance from the riches to be won from the air and recovered from the sea by these new technologies.

NOTES

(1) "Epstein's Law", Albert Jay Nock labels this type of behavior, in the *Atlantic*, Oct., 1940. "Man tends always to satisfy his needs and desires with the least possible exertion." The inevitable corollary is "exploitation", he adds. Man can satisfy his needs and desires in two ways. "He can do it by work; or he can do it by appropriating the product of other people's work without compensation", which "obviously involves less exertion than the first".

When man can employ this second means legally, "he invariably does. . . . It is the State which gives him the privilege. . . . Hence . . . man is always" attempting "to induce the State to take action in his behalf". This tends to multiply the State's functions, and "the more functions the State takes on, the further its range of control is extended—in short, the closer its approach to a totalitarian character. . . . Any degree of economic control carries with it a corresponding power to distribute economic advantage; in fact, it is that power. A power of control which does not carry this power of distribution is unthinkable."

(2) The total annual output of coal in Great Britain rose from 210,000 tons about 1550 to 2,982,000 tons about 1680, a fourteen-fold increase chiefly used for heating. From 1680 to 1780 it rose from 2,982,000 to 10,295,000, a threefold increase in part due to the increased use for making steam. (Cf J. G. Crowther, "The Social Relations of Science", Macmillan, 1941)

(3) The firecracker, which the Chinese had long used as a means to exorcise evil spirits, was brought to the west by that great military genius, Genghis Khan. Sweeping across Asia and into Europe, while he depended on the muscles of horses for transportation, he brought a new chemical force to his strategy of terror. Kettering reminds us of this and adds "Here was an altogether different source of power . . . nothing muscular about it. . . . Man discovered how to harness the terrific energy of a chemical reaction. . . . He was now able to increase his power a hundredfold or a thousandfold by taming the chemical animosity of saltpeter, sulfur, and charcoal." Like most innovations at first it was doubtless chiefly of value in the 'strategy of terror'. The Japanese in the Malayan Peninsula jungle campaign similarly used the firecracker to simulate an attack and bring terror to the retreating British forces.

(4) G. Stanley Hall at the 150th anniversary, in 1915, of the incorporation of the town of Ashfield, Massachusetts, said, "I was born of the sturdy old Puritan, first-growth stock, and spent my childhood and youth in the Ashfield of half a century or more ago. I learned to hoe, mow, chop, plow, plant, sow, milk, fodder cattle, clean stalls, dig, make fences and stone walls, shovel snow, mend roads, break in steers and colts, care for young pigs, lambs, calves, make maple sugar, soap out of the lye, wood ashes, and fat; and evenings my father taught me how to make brooms, and my mother and aunts how to braid palm-leaf hats, knit stockings and shag mittens, and I was often called on to make fires, wash dishes, and even to cook a little, although this latter was often severely criticised by those who had to partake of my viands. Now we call these things agriculture, domestic art, or occupations, but then we called it work. I then belonged to what is now designated as the toiling masses; that is, I was simply a farmer's boy; and never was there more ideal environment for boys to grow up in than the old New England farm of those happy days." (Cf the Handbook of New England, 3d ed., Porter Sargent, 1921, p 448)

J. G. Crowther in his "Social Relations of Science" enlarges upon the changes in our lives brought about by the new technologies. "The growth of the rayon or artificial-silk industry has had explosive social effects." Silk stockings not so long

since were seldom worn by 'honest' women. The improvements in agricultural technology have made possible our urban development. "In 1787, the surplus produced by nineteen farmers was required to support one city dweller." In 1940 the same number of farmers could support 56 and export enough for 10 more. "Between 1918 and 1932, ten million horses and mules were displaced by automobiles. This released thirty million acres of grazing land for the production of salable commodities."

(5) The use of the word 'civilization' began at about the same time 'inter-changeable parts' were devised. When Boswell urged Dr. Johnson to include 'civilization' in his dictionary he refused saying 'civility' was a better word. 'Civilization' as a concept was made current by Condorcet who in 1791 conceived of progress for the people. The Beards in "The American Spirit" (Macmillan, 1942) follow the use and connotation of the term 'civilization' in all its changes through the development of American ideology. The concept of 'civilization' was taken up by the Adamsses and other early American patriots, who believed and declared to Europeans that they were building a new American civilization. How the use of the word has changed even in recent time is illustrated by Wilson's insistence in 1917 that we "underwrite civilization". In 1941 Roosevelt in the Atlantic Charter spoke of "our type of civilization". The Democratic Party platform in 1940 was "to hold aloft and aflame the torch of Western civilization".

Brooks Adams in "The Theory of Social Revolutions" (Macmillan, 1913) writes, "What we call civilization is, I suspect . . . a more or less thorough social centralization, while centralization, very clearly, is an effect of applied science. Civilization is accordingly nearly synonymous with centralization, and is caused by mechanical discoveries, which are applications of scientific knowledge, like the discovery of how to kindle fire, how to build and sail ships, how to smelt metals, how to prepare explosives, how to make paper and print books, and the like. . . . Advances in administration seem to presuppose the evolution of new governing classes, since, apparently, no established type of mind can adapt itself to changes in environment, even in slow-moving civilizations, as fast as environments change. . . . Social acceleration is progressive in proportion to the activity of the scientific mind which makes mechanical discoveries, and it is, therefore, a triumphant science which produces those ever more rapidly recurring changes in environment to which men must adapt themselves at their peril."

(6) Harvard received from the government in 1942 half a million for the training of chaplains, for the Navy supply course, Navy officers in radio, and air force in statistical methods, the "singing statisticians". (Cf *Fortune*, Dec., 1942; Harvard Alumni *Bulletin*, Nov. 8, 1942)

The University of Chicago in the autumn of 1942 had 103 federal contracts for the training of technicians, navigators, and ordnance officers, "involving thousands of men and millions of dollars", *Fortune*, Dec., 1942, tells us in "Education for War". At Wisconsin 1200 Navy enlisted men are in the radio school, more studying for Diesel engineers, Army Air Force machinists, and 470 WAVES are learning to be radio operators. 45 new or modified war courses are given on the campus,

and ESMWT courses in 33 Wisconsin cities enrolled 4011 students.

At M. I. T., President Compton in his annual report (*Technology Review*, Nov., 1942) tells us, "Our special war operations are running over three times the rate of the Institute's normal peacetime budget and continue to increase. The teaching and research staff have been more than doubled. During the past year, the total enrollment of students has increased about 50 per cent above normal because of the establishment of special war-training courses."

(7) "The National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel", under Dr. Leonard Carmichael of Tufts, had by January, 1942, card catalogued 200,000 scientists, of whom nearly 31,000 were Ph.D.'s. "The classifications are minute, everything from recreation leadership to geophysics, statistics, or industrial education,—agronomy, actuarial science, speleology, etc." (Cf "Education in War-time", Porter Sargent, 1942, p 201)

(8) "Science Remakes the World" (Ives Washburn, 1942). The author, James Stokley, trained in biology and psychology, is a member of the National Association of Science Writers and now in charge of the General Electric Research Laboratory and the technical department of the N. Y. *Herald Tribune's* "Books".

Crowther (as does Bernal) tells us of the small amount of human effort given to acquiring new knowledge. Before the war, "the British people were spending only from one-tenth to two-tenths of one per cent of their income on research. The comparable figures for the American people are two-tenths to five-tenths of one per cent. With reference to the number of people under the rule of each, the Americans spend about twelve times as much as the British. "The situation in France was even worse than in Britain. . . . The financing of scientific research in Britain, and in France and America, is chaotic."

- (9) "Full fathom five thy father lies;
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls that were his eyes:
Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange."

(Ariel's Song in Shakespeare's "The Tempest")

"For out of the sea all life came
Ere there was land. And daily the earth
Is returning to the depths that gave it birth. . . .
For all that now is me, was once the ocean,
Sun and clouds brought its waters to the land—
And my bones are but the ocean's stolen salt."

("Let the Ocean be my Tomb", from Sargent's "Spoils")

"I am the daughter of earth and water,
And the nursling of the sky:
I pass through the pores of the ocean and shores;
I change, but I cannot die."

(From Shelley's "The Cloud")

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

The man who first improved the technique of making stone axes and so could produce a surplus with the same amount of labor, established an economic advantage over his fellows. If he could make ten stone axes while his fellow workmen made one, he could trade them for ten times as much of the hunters' spoil. It was natural that in exchange for meat, some of his fellows worked under his supervision and learned the new technique. Thus he accumulated a surplus of axes, of capital stock, and with a surplus of labor perhaps, there resulted over-production, saturation of the market.(1)

Reduced to its simplest elements, that is our industrial and economic system. Through private initiative an active brain to save labor devises improved technological methods. Private enterprise, utilizing these, and additional sources of power, increases production.

The improved technologies of an individual or group, and the surplus product of their labor, in its distribution offers opportunities for the shrewd. By chicanery or superior force an individual or a group may seize or gain the larger share. Who shall have and how much he shall have of the increase has been even among primitive peoples and still is a bone of contention even among the most advanced.

Here is the core of our social and ethical problems. Tabus, mores, codes, laws, edicts, decrees, ethical systems, preachings and teachings have been largely to ameliorate the acerbities that have arisen over this matter of distribution.

The economic system of feudal Europe under the Church changed little for six hundred years. Slave, villein, and beast furnished the power, the wind mill and the water wheel perhaps one per cent. Tillage was the source of wealth, and technological methods changed little. Our ancestors, except for a Crusade or a war, lived and died within a day's journey of where they were born. Communication was limited to the gossip of the market place and what the priest told.(2)

The impact of the East on Europe was largely through its greatly advanced technologies, the superior Damascene steel, the finer weaves, the improved art of navigation. The Normans encountering the Saracens in

Sicily, the Crusaders learning the chivalry of Saladin, the Polos telling incredulous countrymen of the wealth of the East, the Venetians and Genoese gaining wealth in this trade, stimulated European cupidity and desire for knowledge of these new sources of wealth. When the Turks closed the overland trade routes, Portugal, improving her navigation from what the Arabs had learned from the Chinese, opened a new sea-way to the Indies, and Spain to the New World and its gold.(3)

Our piratical Devon ancestors, Hawkins, Drake, singeing the Spanish monarch's beard, seized and brought to Elizabeth the looted Incan and Aztec gold (cf note 7, "War Predicted by the Wise"). The inflow of this new wealth still shows in the Elizabethan country houses and deer parks. Since the decay of feudalism there had been little building except by the Crown and the Cardinals. Following the age of discovery, the Crown bestowed monopolies on favorites for trade with the Indies, Russia, or the Americas,—charters for exploitation. The resulting new rich built more country estates and with 'enclosures' of the common lands drove the impoverished peasantry from the soil (cf "Nationalizing Educational Control").

To supply the slave trade and in exchange for the products of the new lands, cheap trade goods were needed in quantity. This led to the centering of industry in factories at places like Manchester close to growing ports like Liverpool.

With the new factory methods, the workman could no longer own the tools of production. The dispossessed former cultivators, flocking to the growing centers of industry, found it necessary to sell their labor in the market place to the highest bidder.

As labor saving machinery and factory methods required a lesser number of men for production, the price for labor was depressed and profits went up. Decreased costs and increased production resulted in a surplus for which new markets must be found overseas, as the sale of labor did not yield sufficient to increase consumption.

Centralization of the tools of production in factories and the processes in industrial centers where power was available made it economical to center the control in the hands of a few. Profits from this concentration of ownership of the means of production and distribution and the even more profitable financing of these processes gave power to influence government action in all that favored these imperialistic processes. The means of protection of trade, the building of a navy, in turn became a

vested interest (cf Marder). These greatly increased powers of the owners due to the results of labor, of stored up manpower, made it easy to control labor and its price.

Control of the land and the labor of those who were born and lived upon it, was the essence of the feudal system. Control of the means of production was the core of the industrial system. Control of the means of distribution and financing produced our mercantile system.

The term 'capitalism' has been used to characterize this system, or 'finance capitalism' the later, more intense stages of concentration where the lords of finance played with blue chips.

So out of the wealth of the New World, out of the Age of Discovery, came the Industrial Revolution and our so called capitalistic system, which in turn brought in the era of imperialism.

Behind the patriotism that Kipling stirred in the hearts of the people, behind the waving of flags and the booming of guns, there were among those in control some more far seeing, shrewder, or more ruthless who, free from regulation, by methods little understood gained control over the wealth that others had brought together. These masters of the system sent the products of poorly paid labor to other lands to be paid for in raw products that yielded still larger profits. That was the period in which the 'gospel of wealth' was preached and those who had achieved wealth were looked upon as having been prospered by God (cf "How Foundations Influence").

Economic gain for a group of producers may result in combined action on their part for still larger gains. In this they may enlist the workers and consumers and with added power raid and seize the wealth of other groups. A feeling of solidarity in the larger group, a stimulation of the spirit of nationalism is essential to economic warfare between nations.

Such warfare was carried on up to the time of the French Revolution by relatively small professional armies. The existing technology and industry did not permit the equipment of a people's army. About the time of the French Revolution industrial technology and organization had so advanced as to make possible the manufacture of metals and textiles on a much larger scale, so that large armies could be clothed and equipped. With the French Revolution came the conscripted army. Arming the people made democracy possible.(4)

"The present has flowed out of the past without interference by inexplicable devils. . . . We are riding a curve which began many years ago",

remarks Stuart Chase in "The Road We Are Traveling". "History is a seamless process, in which many causes produce many effects, which are in turn causes for more effects, world without end. If Haber in Germany had not perfected the process of tearing nitrogen out of the air when he did, thus making the Reich independent of imports of nitrates from Chile, the first World War would not have started when it did." (5)

In modern warfare, as in ancient, the purpose is to impose your will upon your opponent, which your diplomats have failed to do. That is to be accomplished as in primitive warfare by terror and by killing and destruction or seizure of the enemy's property in order to reduce him to impotence that he may pray for his life and agree to abide by your will. On the outbreak of war the property and investments of the declared enemy are promptly confiscated and their patents seized. (6)

But although the essential ends of warfare remain as in primitive time, the methods must be adapted to technological advance and prevalent ideologies as well. Since communication between their rulers and peoples became general it has been the first duty of those in control of a nation about to go to war to create hatred for those about to be attacked and to improve their own standing with their own people. A good face must be put on the enterprise by announcing some high ideological or ethical purpose and by invoking the nation's gods. Moreover it is easier to enlist allies for a righteous cause.

Because of technological advance, the elaboration of explosive throwing or dropping weapons, the average cost of killing a man in warfare has risen enormously. Napoleon's total expenditure for war, divided by the number killed, has been estimated at something like a few dollars a man. By the time of the Civil War the cost per man was enormously increased. It has been variously estimated that the cost of killing per man in the first World War, was between twenty-five and forty thousand dollars. In totalitarian warfare, which involves the whole population, the percentage killed becomes increasingly smaller even with the vast improvement of weapons and the cost of killing rises greatly. (7)

Perhaps it is because of the high cost of killing that more attention seems to be given at the present time to ancient but for a time neglected weapons. "Food is a weapon in all wars, but in this one more than usual", starkly declared Elmer Davis, Dec. 27, 1942. "The enemy has used it as a weapon negatively. . . . We are using our food supply as a weapon, positively." (8)

"Our statesmen have recognized the importance of food as a weapon, and we have already made arrangements to feed European countries as rapidly as we occupy them", writes Demaree Bess, summarizing the situation. That is, when we have occupied those countries we will use food as a 'negative weapon' as the Germans now do in the occupied countries. But meantime until we do occupy them, we are using food as a 'positive weapon'. "Already in French Africa, we have cut off additional sources of food supply which previously reached Frenchmen, as well as Germans." (9) (Cf also "Vitamins Will Win" and "How Governments Perpetuate Themselves")

"The year 1918 revealed to Germany and to Europe the colossal power of famine and pestilence to dominate rulers, generals and councils of war", writes Paul R. Cannon in the *Scientific Monthly*, Jan., 1943. (Cf "Vitamins Will Win") The louse and the flea, the carriers of pestilence, have proved mightier than any general, the late Professor Hans Zinsser of the Harvard Medical School showed. (10)

"Purposefully starving human beings to death on a grand scale is far more cruel, though perhaps less dramatic, than subjecting small numbers of them to more acute pain and indignity", writes the President's cousin, Joseph Alsop, Groton and Harvard man and former columnist, in the *Sat Eve Post*, Jan. 16, 1943. Held by the Japanese for six months with some thousands of English and Americans, he lost twenty-five pounds but gained seriousness in his intensive study of Chinese classics. His observations of the effect of privation and starvation on the behavior of his fellow prisoners are worthy of an anthropologist or a sociologist. Spoiled and pampered women, wealthy taipans and bankers often reverted to a low order of meanness, while their underlings and servants in some cases revealed heroic qualities. Intellectual and moral degradation became more apparent with the effects of starvation.

In the occupied countries of Europe to get a ration card to supply food for yourself and family you must do assigned work which necessarily helps the occupying forces. It is the only way in which one can avoid starvation. The Queen of the Netherlands broadcast last October the warning to her subjects, "Those who in whatever manner continue to assist this regime of terror in Europe will have to accept the consequences after the liberation. These consequences will be serious indeed." "As a result of this pressure" from the enemy and from those outside the country "one of the fiercest battles of this war is now being fought inside all

these countries—the battle of hatred”, writes Demaree Bess.

By backing up the refugee royalists we are helping to bring about civil war between those who want to work to avoid starvation and those who are loyal to their refugee rulers. “If incipient civil wars in occupied countries are advantageous to Germans, then it is surely apparent that they are disadvantageous to us. In as much as the overwhelming majority of these people are potential allies of ours, it is very much to our interest to unite them rather than to divide them”, Bess warns. (11)

“Never in history has such a volume of hate been generated as will be released on Armistice Day”, observes Hiram Motherwell in “Hunger, Hatred, and Postwar Europe”, *Harpers*, Dec., 1942. The Germans may be pretty bad, he says, “but the only thing conceivably worse for Europe than this wholesale bestiality would be the retribution which, in terms of human justice, it deserves. . . . Surely never before has it been more necessary” to remember the proclamation “Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord”.

Our economic systems, capitalistic or totalitarian, necessitate that we find, after much blundering, the most economical way of accomplishing the result we have set out for. Our war methods have changed with technological advance and power increase. The result has been to greatly increase the cost of killing by explosives, the method of the past few hundred years, by the use of metal, the method of the last few thousand years, so that we have reverted to the still more primitive method of starvation.

Our technology is capable of producing an abundance, and power from water undeveloped is available. An enlightened dictator who could bend all men to his will could produce for the hundreds of millions what only a few centuries ago were rarities for kings. The highest luxury of Roman sybarite or mightiest Oriental monarch, ice in summer, is now the commonplace for a few pennies to the street gamin. Orchestral music, in the time of Bach for the narrow circle of the court, now by radio comes into millions of homes.

Ex-President Hoover and many another have statistically shown what the wastage of the first World War, which now seems trivial, might have supplied in the way of homes and education for all, churches and libraries for every community. Almost all that men strive for, save for, our technology and power system could have provided in abundance had we been better guided.

Enterprising men, men of drive and ability, have worked long hours

night and day with no whiplash to drive them, just the hope of some minor achievement, some trivial advance, some new gadget, some improvement in making more power available. Men long removed from want, who had already achieved fortune and acclaim, well past the age of retirement and crowned with laurels, have continued to bring the utmost of their powers to bear on the problem before them. Men like America's greatest and almost unrecognized scientist, Willard Gibbs, or the technologist C. F. Kettering, and hundreds of others, fired with enthusiasm and driven by the challenge and the urge of discovery, have worked to make this abundance available to all of us.

Many times that number have died of malnutrition or escapable disease in early childhood or have been stultified in our educational processes or had their energy and enterprise turned into ways that brought them to nullity. Only the fortunate few perhaps genetically endowed with indomitable spirit, like the mountain climber or the explorer, have under our institutions and social system reached the flower and fruiting stage. (12)

While the few were 'climbing upward through the night', the great mass of men have blindly sought their own personal security. Among them have been men more acquisitive, more aggressive, shrewder, who have seen and seized opportunities to satisfy not merely the feeling of security but through greed to feel that they were insuring it. Without comprehension of what was going on, without adjustment, with no central authority, little aroused popular intelligence that was operative, most men have been scrambling for what they call profits, just as boys breaking into a plum orchard in the ripening season might scramble for plums, smashing, destroying, gorging.

So little adjusted, so distorted has been our vision that we have thought that profits were all that kept people working, doing business, organizing industry. The perishability and the futility of such profits has been amply demonstrated from the time of Ozymandias to Jim Fiske, who amassed millions and left nothing, and to Boston's "King" Solomon who, with an income of millions from pandering to repressed Puritans, when shot down by those still greedier left an estate of \$528. Shrewder men and families have trusted their wealth, so it has lasted sometimes three or four generations. But where is the family, except where the feudal land system still persists, say in England or East Prussia, that can show a longer prosperous economic life?

Neither blame nor prayer will have any part in changing this pattern. What mankind needs is a greater awareness to the changes that are going on about him, to which in his present blindness he remains unadjusted.

If "man's history has been a story of masters and servitude for more than fifty thousands generations", those masters rose from the great majority who were less aware of opportunity. "Intellectual history is very largely a record of the recurrent efforts of exceptional, indignant men, who found life based on servitude insufferable and intolerable, and who set out to change it, just as national history is one long record of the wars, invasions, usurpations, betrayals, murders and persecutions that have defeated their efforts and prolonged the racial martyrdom." (Wells, "Phoenix: A Summary of the Inescapable Conditions of World Reorganisation", Secker and Warburg, 1942)

And there is nothing in the ways of nature to prevent the continuance of these usurpations, betrayals, and persecutions unless man lift himself by his own bootstraps, get the mud out of his eyes, and become aware and understand. We were blind to what was happening these past twenty years. Few even today are aware of the tremendous pattern of change that is now going on. Consequently there has been no adequate adjustment. Increased horsepower available and machinery to utilize it in production has enormously increased economic power, the power of life and death. For economic power is the power of withholding or giving the essentials of life, shelter and food or deprivation and starvation. With control of economic power you can kill millions, by permitting or bringing about conditions of famine with all its incident diseases. To lop off an equal number of heads with the sword would be well nigh impossible.

We are unadjusted to the present conditions because we are unaware of the abolition of distance, the stupendous enhancement of power available, the waste of the earth's resources with which the Lord has endowed us.

We are passing from the mercantile through the industrial to a production for use,—but much of the mercantile and not a little residue of the feudal still persists in our thinking. These are the consequences of other changes that we have rehearsed. At present the use is for war and destruction. Befuddled with abstractions, 'democracy', 'fascism', 'communism', we are unaware that the control of power and the uses of our technology are becoming increasingly centralized. Yearning for security, those petty souls who have a little hold bitterly to it, blocking the way to abundance for themselves and others.

In our blindness we have permitted our great industrial machine to be operated to produce scarcity. If wages fall, consumption falls off, factories close. Storehouses may be bursting, raw materials waiting for manufacture, but the people suffer deprivation and starvation. The times are out of joint because we are too blind to see, to be aware, and to adjust ourselves to the inevitable. We are on the way to disaster, hoping someone, some force, some thing will save us, when we might easily do it by ourselves by waking up. (13)

If it were difficult to change human nature, to change the habits of a people, then all the individuals on the face of the earth would be exactly alike today, just as God created them as Adam and Eve. It isn't difficult to sell them a new idea, to shift their ideologies. Consider our attitude toward the Russians during the past twenty-five years, or the change of our President's attitude toward sending boys abroad to fight in foreign lands in the past three years. Those changes are due to what has been communicated to us.

In the confusion there are those who eloquently in pulpits and chairs and seats of power advise us, instead of awakening and adjusting our ideas and institutions to the new realisms of power and technology, to put those aside and revert to the ideas and institutions of a people who had as their only resource the power of their own muscles and what they could beat out of their slaves and asses.

NOTES

(1) "Moneyed capital I take to be stored human energy, as a coal measure is stored solar energy." (Brooks Adams, "The Theory of Social Revolutions", Macmillan, 1913)

(2) The Italian philosopher of history, Gian Battista Vico (1668-1744) noted, "In the dark ages communication by articulate language to a large extent ceased, and men were intermingled as conquerors and conquered, who could only hold intercourse with one another by signs, gestures, and ceremonial observances. Writing became almost a lost art, the knowledge of it being preserved only in a separate class."

(3) The opening of the eighteenth century marked great advance not only in technology but in wider knowledge of the world. It was two centuries after the 'Age of Discovery' before we began to discover the peoples and religions of the lands whose treasure only before had interested us. It was about 1700 that Jesuit missionaries wrote back from Siam to tell Europeans for the first time of a great god, Buddha, who they reported was there worshiped. Seen through the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whose husband was appointed in 1716 English

ambassador to Constantinople, the Turks first became for the English real people. From them she introduced cowpox inoculation as a cure or preventive of smallpox.

(4) Hoffman Nickerson in "The Armed Horde, 1793-1939: A Study of the Rise, Survival and Decline of the Mass Army" (Putnam, 1940) shows that conscription is a feature of democracy, and will always favor revolution. "The all-devouring totalitarian state was invented not by the dictators of today but by the democrats of the first French Republic."

(5) Sir William Crookes, contemplating the exhaustion of Chilean nitrates, then the only source of nitrogen, in 1898 had predicted "near-famine for the entire world within a generation, because of the shortage of fertilizers containing nitrogen".

Fritz Haber, the German chemist, Crowther tells us, "increased the production of ammonia by the cyanide process tenfold, and synthetic ammonia from 6,500 tons in 1913 to 200,000 tons in 1918." Visiting the United States in 1902, Haber got the idea of his great process of fixing nitrogen from the "Atmospheric Products Company", the first industrial experiment station of that sort. He tells us, "The idea of copying the process of the combination of nitrogen and oxygen by lightning in the atmosphere, and in this way producing nitrogen oxides that could easily be transformed into nitric acid and nitrates, fascinated the world".

When the British learned that Germany was deriving its nitrates from the air, they knew that they were tremendously handicapped. The War Office in 1915 found a Hollander, Francis Freeth, who understood Gibbs' phase rule by which this had been accomplished. "He supervised the organization of three methods by which the manufacture of ammonium nitrate was made possible. . . . It is openly acknowledged that 'without the exact data by Captain Freeth's series of phase-isotherms, no successful process—indeed no process at all—could have resulted'", remarks Rukeyser. And Crowther writes, "Without this application of the phase rule, England would have lost the war".

In the United States in 1915 "the general staff woke up" and "appointed a committee to study nitrogen, to learn to duplicate the process which had saved Germany from certain 'nitrate bankruptcy'", and using Gibbs' work as a basis they soon developed the process and great plants were erected, notably at Muscle Shoals, for the extraction of nitrogen from the air. (Rukeyser, "Willard Gibbs", Doubleday, Doran, 1942)

(6) "Quiet, fast-moving Leo Crowley, U. S. Alien Property Custodian, wrote a letter to his Commander in Chief last week to tell him that by year's end he will have seized over 50,000 patents held by citizens of enemy and enemy-occupied nations. For the U. S. at war, Leo Crowley pointed out, his patent grabs mean that 'some of the finest research achievements of modern science' will be available to any interested U. S. manufacturer. . . . Businessman Crowley (who is still the \$50,000-a-year boss of Standard Gas & Electric) accomplished far more patent reform than Professor-Trustbuster Thurman Arnold with all his fulminations about how the U. S. patent system encouraged the Nazis to 'strangle' the U. S. war effort." (*Time*, Dec. 21, 1942)

(7) The revolutionary improvements in war technique used by the Germans have resulted in very small losses. Hanson W. Baldwin in the *N. Y. Times*, July 8, 1940, gives the grand total of losses, "Killed", "Wounded", "Prisoners and Missing", for the war up to July 1 in thousands: Germany 243, Italy 5, France 1,988, Britain 90, Poland 620, Netherlands 331, Belgium 545, Norway 59. This is a total of over 4 million, of which nearly 3 million were "Prisoners and Missing". "Superiority in military technique" has contributed to "the rapid and comparatively bloodless" German successes. (Nickerson, "The Armed Horde")

(8) Since the development of agriculture and the appropriation of land our 'way of life' has been increasingly a starvation culture. Barring free men from the use of land leaves them no longer free. They have to appease in some way those who hold the land and grow the food.

"This fierce continual search for nutrition . . . is a fundamental aspect of survival, however we disguise it by speaking of the survival of the fittest among units. The struggle is among national organisms in perpetual fear of losing some source of energy needed to keep in equilibrium the unstable growth of their culture or civilization. There must have been bloody wars before the time of Piltdown man, fought for flint beds and 'civilization'," writes Morley Roberts in "The Behavior of Nations: An Essay in the Conduct of National Organisms in the Nutritional Field" (Dent, London, 1941).

To William Henry Chamberlin, who knows the way of life under the Soviets and in Japan, "it scarcely seemed credible and perhaps it will scarcely seem credible to some future age that the Hoover Plan aroused a storm of abuse and misrepresentation. Some prominent Church leaders were most active in opposing this or any other plan for relieving distress in occupied countries. . . .

"Fear of economic reprisals, of social ostracism, of being called an appeaser, a defeatist, a fifth columnist or some other bad name, was causing many people to hide their honest convictions. To me, a long-term resident of dictatorially and semidictatorially governed countries, it was a familiar, and an unpleasant, psychological pattern." ("The World's Iron Age", Macmillan, 1941)

(9) Demaree Bess in "Hatred Over Europe", *Sat Eve Post*, Jan. 9, 1943, goes on to explain, "Food is the chief weapon which the Germans use for regimenting the workers in occupied countries, from the highest officials to the humblest day laborers. Without ration cards, which the Germans control, it has steadily become more difficult to obtain any food at all, so that ration cards have become more essential than money. Europeans who agree to work in factories in Germany get special ration cards, including some milk for their children. Those who stay on their jobs in the occupied countries get at least enough food to nourish themselves and their families. This weapon of food, even more than German military and police power, holds occupied peoples in submission."

"Between the summer of 1940 and August, 1942, the American Red Cross was permitted to send six ships [only] into unoccupied France, carrying white flour and milk concentrates", *Fortune*, Jan., 1943, reports in "Hunger Spreads Over Europe". "In August, 1940, Mr. Churchill announced that the blockade would thence-

forth apply to the entire enemy-occupied area. Few exceptions were granted."

(10) In his "Rats, Lice and History" (Little, Brown, 1935) Zinsser, somewhat in the style of his prototype William Morton Wheeler, sings his paean of praise to the louse. "The louse—like man—has, for one reason or another, failed to develop the highly complex civilization of the bee or the ant. Such development has perhaps been unnecessary because of the infinite and ever-renewed supply of abundant territories for exploration." Once there were free living lice that moved about and earned their living, but the louse we know has sacrificed its liberty; it meant exposure, uncertainty. It gave up its wings, perhaps, for "secure and effortless existence on a living island of plenty. In a manner, therefore, by adapting itself to parasitism, the louse has attained the ideal of bourgeois civilization, though its methods are more direct than those of business or banking, and its source of nourishment is not its own species."

(11) Bess (*Sat Eve Post*, Jan. 9, 1943) quotes "one of Britain's foremost military strategists", Liddell Hart: "Every threat about what we shall do to Germans if we win is a help to Hitler, because it is bound to rally Germans behind him as the lesser of two evils. Everyone who utters such threats is an unwitting and witless ally of Hitler. To understand this, it should be sufficient to realize how the thought of German victory and its consequences unites all sections in this country, making them sink their differences in a common resolve to resist. Statesmen ought to take a lesson from the strategist, with whom it is an elementary principle that if he finds his opponents in a strong position, hard to storm, he should leave them a loophole for retreat, as the quickest way of disintegrating their resistance."

(12) "The indomitable spirit of man I sing,
The drive that has carried him to the poles. . . .
Of the urge that makes mountain climbers
Give their utmost, of Irvine and Mallory
Still on Everest, and all those others who,
When wrung of the last ounce of strength,
Laid wan bodies down to die
In Arctic waste, in tropic swamp, on mountain height,
Or with tongues thick and parched
In burning desert Hell.
What was gold to them, comfort, or sex, the full belly,
Or the soft, warm form beside them in the night.
A goal they'd set, which to attain all else was naught;
Nor with all earth's treasure could their souls be bought."

("The Drive From Within", from "Spoils", Porter Sargent, 1935)

(13) "A very loose generalization might be that a moderate injection of inanimate energy into an economic system produces capitalism, and a great deal of it produces collectivism. . . . Applied science has thus already engineered one vast transition. There is good reason to believe that the same cause is a major factor in engineering the present transition. It is certainly the cause of precipitating what has been called the economy of abundance, with the resulting paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty." (Chase, "The Road We Are Traveling")

POLITICAL EFFECTS

Dependence on muscular power produced the slave and his master, the villein and his lord. The power of the feudal lord was largely measured by the number of muscular men he commanded.

The political effect of Elizabeth's increased wealth was to give her the means of successfully defying her excommunication by the Pope and defeating the Holy War he had declared against England. Without this Spanish plunder, the Reformation, which Catholics call the Protestant Revolt, might have been put down and the six hundred year period of European unity prolonged. (Cf p 145) In consequent changes the tillers were dispossessed by the 'enclosures', and in the Industrial Revolution became urban factory workers.

The laborer without tools or raw materials or the power necessary to produce in this age of production was forced to sell the labor of his bare hands, his pitiful one-tenth horsepower, such skill as increasingly automatic machinery still left marketable, in the open market. The highest bidder was the underling of some magnate who may have controlled financially and otherwise a million horsepower through ownership of utilities, coal, and petroleum.

Under that system the disparity between the laborer and the owner of the tools and power was in much higher ratio than that of the villein and the lord. It was an exaggerated modern feudalism with no responsibility upon the overlord for prolonging the life of his wage slaves.

Protesting wage takers a hundred years ago were shot down by the king's troops.(1) Since, they have learned to organize until their unions exert through their dictators great power, often an unreasoning tyranny and monstrous corruption.

To compensate for the disparity in actual power we have fought for and won "rights", privileges, something granted by overlords. Guilds of merchants or artisans obtained charters from the Crown,—economic rights won through local pressure politics. Political rights led to the demand for the ballot, grudgingly granted.

In the confusion of the struggle for political rights, freedom from restraint, strong men have seized power unwillingly yielded by others, as

did the barons from King John. Gunpowder later destroyed the security of the lord in his castle and increased the centralized power of the sovereign. Eventually the people seized power from the Crown. But political rights can satisfy only for a time. Without economic rights they yield little other than idealistic satisfactions.

When all the power was in the strong right arm that could wield a sword, attaining supreme power was a matter of gradual elimination, of jousts and contests and trials. Today the battle goes on unseen, unsuspected by most. It is this unawareness and confusion that gives opportunity to shrewder, far seeing men to build up political power.

Political power, the power to influence or control the behavior of masses of individuals, a community, a people, or a nation, can be built up with the aid of publicity, inspiring admiration or hero worship. Continued, this becomes prestige, as with the British or Roman Empires over the "lesser breeds". Successive generations, dynasties, as with the Hapsburgs or the Hohenzollerns, may establish the conception of 'legitimacy' and win automatic consent.

This prestige may be transferred from the dynasty to some symbol, the Crown, the Empire, our Country, the Constitution, Democracy. These may become sacred, inspiring the people to fight for the preservation of the symbol with the same loyalty they fought for the king. (Cf "Control—By Whom And For What")

Political power may be accumulated, as electricity is in a storage battery. Accumulated power similarly may be dissipated through breakdown or deterioration of connecting elements.

The ballot, the basis of our democracy, supposedly makes every man a king. The ballot brings 'equality' to all. Each ballot stands for a single unit. But the majority vote determines. Politicians, a product of and skilled manipulators of the system, have learned how to win and deliver votes. They act as brokers for those who have or want additional political power.

Neither these advances nor the evils that have come with them are subjects for pride or indignation. They have come about naturally, that is from multitudinous long existent causal complexes of which we have been hardly conscious. "All men have longed for power,—to bend his fellow to his will, the strength to make things come to pass." The discerning have seized power when opportunity offered. Today men in our modern society are more likely to retain it if not discovered. So the

social processes are screened by those who are benefiting and fear to have them understood.

All those, the "corrupt politician", the "racketeer", the "venal propagandist", are creatures of our time and folkways. It is well to attract attention to them in order that they may be accurately described. Then it would be unnecessary to use punitive methods against them. It is well to look behind the screen, to understand. It is more effective than merely blaming or attacking. (2)

To maintain the privilege of those who hold the means of production, legal and constitutional defenses have been built, justified, and rationalized by bespectacled scholars in upholstered chairs in our great universities. The profits of pelf and privilege have afforded ample surplus to support a great variety of protective institutions and corps of trained janizaries to maintain and supervise spy and police systems.

In this period of maladjustment to the new conditions, of the laborer to his tools, of social institutions to the task of producing what was needful, strange contrasts of human power have appeared. Acquisitive shrewdness and intrigue have been rewarded by an unknowing society with control of power, economic and political, which, compared with that of the mightiest monarchs of the past, stands up like the peaks of the Himalayas above the hills of Rome, both standing out above the flat swampy levels on which the masses of humanity exist.

It takes the rumblings of war to bring about any readjustment in this unstable pyramiding of power and privilege. Total war particularly brings a complete marshalling of people and resources, a collected and united effort, and puts all the competitors eventually on the same totalitarian basis. It brings about not only further stimulus in the development of power and technology, but it brings new groups to the fore, new elements to the top. (3)

NOTES

(1) Cf Vaughan Wilkins' "And So Victoria" (Macmillan, 1937). "Bloody Sunday in Trafalgar Square", a chapter in Hesketh Pearson's "Bernard Shaw: His Life and Personality" (Collins, London, 1942) tells of the mass meeting of the workless, Nov. 13, 1887, to protest against suppression of free speech. The procession and meeting, led or participated in by William Morris, Annie Besant, Edward Carpenter, John Burns, and Bernard Shaw, was brutally attacked by the police and broken up.

(2) "Je ne blâme ni n'approuve: ję raconte", said Talleyrand. (Quoted by Arthur J. Marder in the preface to "The Anatomy of British Sea Power", Knopf, 1940).

(3) Stuart Chase in "The Road We Are Traveling: 1914-1942" (Twentieth Century Fund, 1942) discusses current trends under two groupings, "prime causes for social change" and "effects produced by these causes" from the standpoint of the development of technology.

In 1913, "All the world had been pretty well divided up by the Great Powers, with colonial development slackening. Backward nations were beginning to build their own factories. In 1914 a depression came. It might have been a serious depression but we pulled out of it on war orders and spending for armaments, until every able-bodied man was in the army or employed. After the war, we fell into another depression. We pulled out of that on deferred construction, foreign loans, installment credit and the giant motor car and highway investment. Other nations were not so fortunate. They remained mostly in a trough of permanent depression.

"Mr. Hoover . . . inaugurated an embryo new deal. He expanded public works, put relief on a federal basis through grants to the states, and organized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to put government credit under tottering railroads, insurance companies and banks. . . . Barter deals, blocked marks, blocked pounds appeared on world markets, changing multilateral trading into bilateral swaps between one country and another. . . .

"Hitler and the other dictators did not emerge bloodily from nowhere. They were the product of the same conditions which produced the New Deal. The cure may have been worse than the disease, but that is another story."

In his last speech Lord Lothian said, "The triumph of Hitler no doubt grew out of the despair which settled on central Europe in the long years of the war, defeat, inflation and revolutionary propaganda, which grew out of unemployment and frustration which followed the absence of any real unity in Europe; the sudden restriction of immigration overseas and the attempt to combine the collection of reparations and war debts by the Allies with the imposition of unjust tariffs after the war. That was what gave Hitler his chance."

SOCIAL REPERCUSSIONS

Change, 'the only constant', always certain and inevitable, must always meet with inertia, delay, opposition. Any body, human or heavenly, which is at rest or is moving in a given direction according to one of the fundamental laws of physics, will continue to do just what it was doing unless acted on by some other force. But it is only in a theoretical universe that there would be no other force, or that rest would be more than relative. In this universe where every particle of matter attracts every other particle with a force proportional to the square of the distance, there are plenty of other forces. And as every event in the past continues to have its effect on every event today and in the future, the play of change is fascinatingly complex.

In his essay on "Poetry and Imagination" Emerson applies both. "The magnificent hotel and inconveniency we call Nature is not final . . . nothing stands still in nature but death . . . creation is on wheels in transit. . . . Thin or solid everything is in flight . . . everything undressing and stealing away from its old into new form."

Individuals or groups of individuals or nations fail to recognize forces playing about them and through inertia are for a time unchanging. They come to the attitude that the ancient order, legalized and protected by police methods, by military force even to total warfare, may be indefinitely continued. It is endowed by its devotees with qualities of permanence. Legally right becomes morally right. (1)

The new, then, has always to be bootlegged in. We have to take the world as we find it, but the bootleggers don't have to leave it that way. And there would be no bootleggers were there not those who want something they can't easily get. The contented stand in the way of readjustment of our education and ways of life to the great changes which are swirling about us. Change is brought about by the discontented who want what is illegal, even immoral. (2)

This damming of the stream under flood conditions, this delay in adjusting to new conditions has brought the break, the great revolution that is on, of which current wars are incidents. "If you take thirty years to do half an hour's work, you will presently have to do thirty years' work in

half an hour, which will be a very bloody business", Shaw wrote Lady Astor.

Our social institutions have grown up to preserve our ways of life, religion our hope for a better life. But institutionalized they stultify the intellect and suppress initiative. The ancient codes, still held sacred, become husks, casts of former types of behavior. The wasting of manpower, the destruction of the accumulated results of labor, is the inevitable result of partial adaptation, incomplete adjustment.

"Technology has created the promise of a world of plenty which for the first time seems to be an attainable goal", was reiterated by Rufus Dawes ironically at the opening of the Century of Progress in 1933, with the usual helpless wail, "Civilization is at a crisis. Unemployment and misery, fear and passion, threaten economic collapse and the dire calamity of war."

Had our educators, our leaders, our rulers aided our people in revising their ancient codes, their archaic institutions to the new developments of power and the new sources of wealth and in readjusting the distribution of these, the flow of change along the stream of time might have been kept more nearly constant and the present change made less violent.

A people economically deprived, disarmed, treated as inferior or as a pushover, in time may be brought to aggressive and destructive mood. When they break out and overturn what has long been, when the revolution is on, then we may become aware that it was our stupid denial of justice, our blocking of inevitable change that caused the sudden break.

Awareness that revolution was necessary, inevitable, or that it had begun, is very recent. Only a few years ago no one could speak of revolution without being considered a crackpot or subversive. It was years after we had sown the dragons teeth at Versailles before it began to dawn upon even the far-seeing that the first World War was the first stage in a revolution which must continue until we had made up some part of the cultural lag and adjusted ourselves to the great changes in power and technology. It continues to grow upon the public consciousness that our social system is overdue for modification.

Now almost every administrator, except Churchill and his Tory conferees, is aware that the inevitable is on its way. But even Lord Halifax, who stands for all that is conservative, now knows that there is no return, no restoration as he once hoped. Recently he confessed, "We were sure . . . in 1914 that once we had dealt with the matter in hand the world

would return to old ways, which, in the main, we thought to be good ways".(3) The old ways, the 'good ways' to which he referred, include the mores with the tabus that have been passed on to us from a time when slaves were the only source of power. The great power available to us, the new instruments with which to use it have so changed the material conditions of our life that we have great difficulty in adjusting ourselves to the codes of an early primitive people. They are obsolete for us. And yet we pay lip service to them. The pikeman cannot stand against the tank, but the priest has stood against legislation.(4)

Our political ideals remain largely those of a time preceding the horse and buggy, before there were roads or wheeled vehicles. And that's only a few generations ago.(5)

The ethical precepts to which we adhere, without shame, we avow to be thousands of years old. Through the marvels of radio, the voice of today's prophets of destruction carries the language and the message of semi-savage nomadic tribes of some thousands of years before.

Our armies must still arm themselves in righteousness before they go forth to slay those who are evil, to kill those whose 'way of life' is so different from our own that we cannot approve. The ideals that prevailed, and the institutions built when we had only muscular power still totter in this chaotic world where ignorant armies clash by night.

Though available power is thousands of times greater than that even the greatest armies could have exerted of old, it has been applied thus far only to the production of material things, not all of which were good for us, and to the destruction of things spiritual as well as material.

Misuse of this tremendous and growing power is everywhere. That makes for trouble. Look around and you will see it. Millions, most of humanity, have been "delivered up to the most intolerable and hopeless anxiety and destroyed morally and mentally".(6)

It is a poor adjustment at best that men individually or collectively, and even more their rulers, have made to the revelations that have come to us in the past few decades.(7)

This matter of adjustment is an ancient and oft repeated phenomenon. How many times in your own life have you had to adjust to some new condition? If you were manufacturing buggy whips, perhaps now you are manufacturing magnetoes. But how much adjustment your fathers made from the time of the flint and steel to the turning of the electric switch! All these technological changes brought readjustments in the

lives of our fellows, as they have with all races through all time.

But so long in isolated valleys have men lived apart, developed their own 'way of life', so little did basic methods of agriculture change from the time of Hesiod up till within a generation or so, that we have forgotten that adjustment, changing our way of life, finding new ways of living, is essential to living.

Man is but one species of millions now existing on the earth. Just think,—more than 700,000 species of insects alone have been identified and given long Latin binomials by the entomologists. But the millions of species that exist, all animals and plants, are as nothing compared with the trillions that have existed during the last 500 million years. The rocks are filled with these extinct denizens of the world. They failed to make the necessary adjustments and became extinct. All about you today you see offices and shops closing, businesses becoming extinct, other businesses adjusted to war conditions booming.

Even newsboys with gamin-like alertness may get a pitch where conditions are unchanging and have only to hold it to succeed. The Lingua was like that. He moored himself in a place that was favorable and where there were no light or current changes so that he had no adjustments to make and has not changed these three hundred million years. (Cf "Adjustment Is Painful")

What does this adjustment of a system, the catching up with the cultural lag, actually mean in human terms? It means a change in the behavior of men. Since the time of Buddha and before, wise men have been concerned with our 'way of life', seeking to find a better. For the last few thousand years Western man,—unadjusted to his religion and ideals that came from the Mediterranean and the East, obsessed with the idea of attaining security, salvation, of gaining a paradise, a city of golden streets entered through pearly gates, a garden with perfumed fountains and sloe-eyed houris, a city of refuge, a rock of ages,—had regarded the world he was to leave behind as of secondary interest.

Within the last few hundred years a new phase of human behavior has developed, a new 'way of life', a new way of looking at the universe, the world about. It is the method of painstaking, critical collection and testing of facts, with them the building of hypotheses as explanations or interpretations. But these hypotheses are regarded as mere scaffoldings to be destroyed when better can be constructed. And in testing the fact or the hypothesis the method of experimenting has been devised,—in

which, while most of the factors remain unchanging, one is made variable, so that the effect of that one factor or influence can be estimated or regulated.

This is the scientific method, a new method of approach to the problems man has always faced, resulting in a new way of observing, regarding, thinking, and deducing, a new method of human behavior, thought, attitude. It is this new method, that has come into being the last few hundred years, developed so rapidly in recent decades, but is still confined to so few individuals, that has made possible these great increases in power and improvements in technology. (8)

But this method is little appreciated, used only by the few. Many a man who calls himself a scientist abandons the method when he leaves his laboratory. Few of our educators have any conception of the method. They think of 'science' as an abstraction like 'philosophy', regard it as an entity worshiped by some, derided by others. The method has brought us power and wealth and new standards of living because it has been followed by a few individuals in their laboratories a few hours of their lives.

So little is the promise and value of this method appreciated, so horrendous does the abstraction 'Science' seem to some, that there is no understanding yet of what this new mode of behavior might yield the human race if it were generally adopted.

The critics of the scientific method, trained in the theological, metaphysical tradition, approaching the actual industrialized, mechanized world in which they live, are unable to adjust themselves to it. Bewildered, confused, in their perturbation they bring a "general indictment" of this world of greater production and increased power "as the foe of all values human and divine". (9)

Such say in effect, 'Let us give up all we have gained in recent time, which is so confusing, go back to the ways of our fathers, adhere to the familiar things that we learned at mother's knee, the things that came from the sacred past.' Some would blame one abstraction on another, war on science or misery on the machine. Even George V. Denny, Jr., of the Town Meeting of the Air, raises the question of "a moratorium on scientific inventions until we can reorient ourselves in the Machine Age" (*Churchman*, Jan. 1, 1943).

Confusion in a time of readjustment is to be expected. Only those who are prepared for change can keep their heads and sense of direction. Henry Adams, who had lost his faith but not his vision, saw clearly forty

years in advance the great catastrophe we are now passing through. But he, too, feared "science", realizing that his fellow men would be unable to bring about adjustment to the new in time to prevent the debacle. "It is mathematically certain to me that another thirty years of energy-development at the rate of the last century, must reach an impasse." (10)

A state of what we call 'demoralization' accompanies change, that is, the old codes are broken down, a rearrangement becomes essential. To De Tocqueville's question, "How many new words have you invented for your dictionary", Noah Webster replied, "Only one, demoralize". (11)

At a time of demoralization and crisis the Hoover committee reported on "Recent Social Trends in the United States" (1933). "The cultural environment called civilization" was looked upon as dynamic, as rapidly changing, and as displaying "startling inequality in the rates of change, uneven advances in inventions, institutions, attitudes and ideals, dangerous tensions and torsions in our social arrangements". "Indispensable" in the "reorganization of social life" is the "recognition of the role which science must play . . . continuing recognition of the intimate relationships between changing scientific techniques, varying social interests and institutions, modes of social education and action and broad social purposes". (12)

"A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools" was the first publication of another committee about the same time, sponsored by the American Historical Association, to investigate "the problem and nature of 'the social sciences' in the American system of education". (13)

The "Charter", drawn up by a committee under the chairmanship of Beard, declared, "The people of this country are engaged in no mere political experiment, as often imagined, but are attempting to build a civilization in a new natural setting, along original lines, with science and machinery as their great instrumentalities of work. . . . The lot of mankind can be continuously improved by research, invention, and taking thought. . . . The environment and conduct of men and women can be modified by effort in the light of higher values and better ends." (14)

Continuing Hoover's good work, Roosevelt appointed the National Resources Committee to study technological trends, including the social implications of the new inventions, through its science sub-committee, which published a report in 1937 on "Technological Trends and National Policy". (Cf Crowther, "The Social Relations of Science")

These evidences of appreciation that adjustment was necessary were

too feeble, 'too little and too late' to save us from the great expenditure for destruction that became imperative.

War is expensive, but it does bring some good results that perhaps we are too sluggish, too stupid to get less wastefully. Hatred and bitterness are enduring products. In our military camps these past two years boys from the North and South have been refighting the Civil War. But great wealth has been poured into the South which will accelerate change that would otherwise have been further delayed. (15) So after the mutual exhaustion and embitteredness of war there is usually a residue of advance.

War is wasteful. Man is a waster. And Nature is prodigal. "Experience keeps a dear school, but fools—mankind—will learn in no other." Few can say with Bismarck, "I prefer some other". Our job is to reduce the cost of tuition.

Waste of course is irksome to the economical. It is easy in one's own mind to devise ways and means whereby waste may be eliminated. But attempt to teach a people, to contravene their ways of wasting gas, time, opportunity, the resources of the earth, and it becomes difficult.

Wasteful war brings horrors. After the war we breed from those that are left, we are burdened with cripples, we go without to pay interest to the bondholders, pensions to the survivors.

But disciplining us in ways to which we are unused, depriving us of friends and comforts to which we were accustomed may sober us and stimulate exertion beyond what we otherwise might have achieved. Cruel necessity is still the mother. Much good may result.

As a result of the last war the physique and configuration of the German people was enormously improved. In this war many an American boy that was lost, a waster, has been made a man already. The army has done for many a boy what our whole educational system failed to do.

When we came out of the last war the airplane had shown its possibilities. Wireless was on the way to become radio. The automotive age was upon us. We came out of the war with a contempt for the inferior ersatz materials the Germans, blockaded and deprived, had been forced to invent. We came out with a chemical industry founded on the confiscated patents, the plunder we got from Germany.

We emerged in the twenties with deepened understandings of other peoples. The French, the Germans, and the English were better known in Iowa and Idaho in 1920 than they had been in 1914.

Woman came out of the war, and out of the home, out of her whale-bone stays, her long skirts and cotton stockings. Out of this second war, out of the WAACs and the WAVEs she will spring full panoplied for what's to come.

We went into the present war stuttering m-m-millions. Already we are glibly bellowing Billions,—with a capital B. But the millions and the billions will be no longer in the hands of the present. Those billions are being destroyed; the potential billions are to come out of the sweat of those who survive to inherit what is left of the world. (16)

Our political, our educational system was seriously at fault, unadjusted to the times. We hope that the war will bring something better to us. We will lose our accumulated wealth. We will lose some of the best breeding material of our people. But if we can lose some bad habits, mental and physical, it may more than compensate.

War is always a shock. It breaks down the old set-up. It acts like the jar one gives to the old fashioned kaleidoscope. The old disappears and out of the chaos of change new patterns arrange themselves, perhaps more beautiful.

NOTES

(1) "If the invention of gunpowder and printing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries presaged the Reformation of the sixteenth, and if the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth was the forerunner of political revolutions throughout the Western World, we may well, after the mechanical and economic cataclysm of the nineteenth, cease wondering that twentieth-century society should be radical. . . . Twentieth-century society rests on a basis not different so much in degree, as in kind, from all that has gone before. Through applied science infinite forces have been domesticated, and the action of these infinite forces upon finite minds has been to create a tension, together with a social acceleration and concentration, not only unparalleled, but, apparently, without limit. Meanwhile our laws and institutions have remained, in substance, constant. I doubt if we have developed a single important administrative principle which would be novel to Napoleon, were he to live again, and I am quite sure that we have no legal principle younger than Justinian." (Brooks Adams, "The Theory of Social Revolutions", Macmillan, 1913)

(2) "When Shaw used the word 'immoral' he meant non-customary", remarks Hesketh Pearson in "Bernard Shaw" (Collins, London, 1942). Shaw, testifying before the parliamentary committee on the suppression of "Mrs. Warren's Profession", said, "I would remind the committee that from one end of the Bible to the other the words 'moral' and 'immoral' are not used. They are not used in the plays of Shakespeare, and at the time that the 1843 Act was passed I believe that any

person using the words 'morality' and 'immorality' as being synonymous with 'righteousness' and 'sin' was very strongly suspected of being a Rationalist, and probably an Atheist."

(3) From Halifax' "Speeches on Foreign Policy, 1934-1939", p 360, quoted by E. H. Carr in "Conditions of Peace" (Macmillan, 1942), p ix. Carr comments, "The war was regarded . . . as a shocking and meaningless digression. . . . In the closing stages of the war the belief became current that the result of an Allied victory would be to create a still better world than had been known before, a world safe for democracy and fit for heroes to live in, a world in which a new international order would assure universal justice and perpetual peace. There was felt to be nothing revolutionary about this conception. A return to the old ways, which were also good ways, naturally meant a resumption of the orderly march of human progress. 'There is no doubt', wrote General Smuts in 1918 in a much-quoted passage, 'that mankind is once more on the move. . . . The tents have been struck, and the great caravan of humanity is once more on the march.'"

(4) "The institutional crisis of our day is far more marked and serious than in any earlier period in the history of mankind. In the last hundred years, our science and technology have made more rapid strides than in the million years preceding the middle of the nineteenth century. We have an extremely impressive body of scientific knowledge and technological equipment. But we continue to try to control this empire of laboratories and machines through basic institutions which were fully developed by the time of George Washington." The dangerous enemies of society today "are not the 'crackpots' who peddle cheap and naive panaceas". They "at least recognize that something is wrong", though their prescription if taken would perhaps kill rather than cure. It is those smug, conceited, complacent individuals, securely fixed in the 'seats of the mighty' or occupying comfortable endowed chairs who carry on a persistent "sit-down strike" against any observation, idea, anything that shows intelligence, "insisting that nothing is wrong in this best of all possible worlds". They would induce us "to 'park' our mentalities for the duration". (H. E. Barnes "Social Institutions", Prentice-Hall, 1942)

(5) "Something of the conditions of the roads and travel at the time are reflected by Madame Knight's account of her horseback journey from Boston to New York in 1704. She writes: 'We advanced on the town of Seabrook. The Rodes all along this way are very bad. Incumbered with Rocks and mountainous passages, which were very disagreeable to my tired carcass. In going over a Bridge, Under which the River Run very swift, my hors stumbled, and very narrowly 'scaped falling over into the water; which extremely frightened me. But through God's goodness I met with no harm, and mounting agen, in about half a miles Rideing came to an ordinary, was well entertained by a woman of about seventy and advantage, but of as sound Intellectuals as one of seventeen.'" (Handbook of New England, 3d ed., 1921, Porter Sargent)

(6) Quoted from H. G. Wells' "New World Order" (Secker and Warburg, 1940), which devotes much space to discussion of the lack of adjustment of our institutions to the recent great increase in available power and rapidity of com-

munication. (Cf "Our Present Maladjustment" in "What Makes Lives")

(7) "The major result of man's evolution since he first became established as a distinct species has been the unremitting, and in the last few centuries tremendously accelerating, control of natural forces and resources to his own purposes. The result is that today a species of mammals that is morally and spiritually at a low and primitive stage of evolution finds itself in possession of colossal material powers and resources—such powers and resources as no other species ever had, either absolutely or relatively, nor for the most part did man himself possess until within the lifetime of persons now living.

"Furthermore the sociality of this mammalian species is so primitive, so ill-kempt, so badly organized, and so lowly evolved generally that these enormous material powers can, and regularly do, fall completely under the control of single individuals, or small groups of individuals, who are selfish, greedy, vicious, dishonest, and hypocritical; whose souls know neither human decency, sympathetic and loving kindness for their fellow-men, nor social morality. . . .

"Any sort of world-wide harmonious and sympathetic co-operation by which men may live decently together simply does not exist. The complexity of the world of today in respect of its sheerly material aspects imperatively demands such cooperation if it is to continue to be a possible abode for human beings. Yet every single one of the protagonists of new social patterns, from Washington to Moscow and including assorted colleagues along the way, struggles to make his ideas prevail by the application of the techniques of chicanery, demagoguery, 'purges', and military force. . . . The standard pattern of national behavior, to which there are no exceptions, is to combat evil with evil. But real and enduring peace will never be achieved by such techniques. . . . There must first evolve among men more decency and dignity, more tolerance and sympathy, more kindness and forbearance, and more capacity of co-operation for the common good in the conduct of human life." (The late Raymond Pearl in "Biological Considerations About War", *American Journal of Sociology*, Jan., 1941)

(8) These changes are lucidly summarized by S. R. Humby and E. J. F. James in "Science and Education" (Cambridge University Press, 1942). "The most significant fact in the contemporary scene is that a great new force is at work in the world, the force of a new field of knowledge, that has altered and is altering not only superficial and material adjuncts of our life but the whole nature and possibilities of social organisation." The British Association's Conference on Science and World Order approved a declaration that "during the past third of a century, changes in the conditions of life have come about, more profound than any in human history. Distance has been virtually abolished; cognisance of events has become simultaneous throughout the world. . . . While only a century ago the village was an almost self-sufficing unit, today the world is our unit. . . . Intense mental effort and clear vision are now needed" to adjust ourselves to these new conditions.

(9) Cf Charles A. Beard's introduction to "Toward Civilization" (1930), a symposium of men of industry and engineering in response and rebuttal to

"Whither Mankind: A Panorama of Modern Civilization" (1928), a symposium, under the editorship of Beard, of men of letters, "attempting to assess the values of civilization and speculating about its destiny". (Quoted in "The American Spirit")

(10) Henry Adams in August, 1902, wrote his brother Brooks, whose "Law of Civilization and Decay" he had just read, "I apprehend for the next hundred years an ultimate colossal, cosmic collapse; but not on any of our old lines. My belief is that science is to wreck us, and that we are like monkeys monkeying with a loaded shell; we don't in the least know or care where our practically infinite energies come from or will bring us to. For myself, it is true; I know no care at all. But the faintest disturbance of equilibrium is felt throughout the solar system, and I feel sure that our power over energy has now reached a point where it must sensibly affect the old adjustment."

(11) The scientist Sir William Bragg similarly saw clearly ahead a period of delayed readjustment and drew an analogy in his "Thermodynamics of the Order-Disorder Transformation": "We may say that 'demoralization sets in', there is a complete collapse of the ordered state. . . . This is no isolated phenomenon. Similar reasoning has been employed to explain the Curie point in ferromagnetics. . . . It is a general thermodynamic feature of an organized structure, where the energy keeping any given member in its right place is dependent on the degree to which its neighbors are in their right places, on 'public opinion' if I may venture the analogy." (Quoted by Rukeyser in "Willard Gibbs")

(12) President Hoover, engineer, conscious of technological advance, instituted this inquiry in advance of the crisis. It was at the end of 1928 that he appointed the committee for the purpose of "analyzing and appraising our problems as those of a single society based upon the assumption of the common welfare as the goal of common effort. . . . It may be said that the primary value of this report is to be found in the effort to interrelate the disjointed factors and elements in the social life of America, in the attempt to view the situation as a whole rather than as a cluster of parts." (Quoted in Beard's "The American Spirit")

(13) The committee, "known as the Commission on the Social Studies, was composed of scholars representing the various branches of the subject, such as history, politics, economics, sociology, and education" (Beard, "The American Spirit") and carried on its investigations from 1929 to 1934 with the aid of money from the great foundations. Sixteen volumes had been published up to 1941. In its "Conclusions and Recommendations" (1934) the Commission declared that "the civilization of the United States has always been a part of European, or 'Western', civilization. . . . Moreover, the swift development of technology, industry, transportation, and communication in modern times is obviously merging Western civilization into a new world civilization".

(14) Three years later President Conant in his principal address at the Harvard Tercentenary was evidently indebted to Beard's stimulating declaration. These noble words of his must haunt him today. "Those of us who have faith in human reason believe that in the next hundred years we can build an educational basis for

a unified, coherent culture suited to a democratic country in a scientific age. . . . We must examine the immediate origins of our political, economic, and cultural life and then work backwards. . . . We are either afraid of heresy or we are not. If we are afraid, there will be no adequate discussion of the genesis of our national life; the door will be shut to the development of a culture which will satisfy our needs."

(15) Huey Long did away with the poll tax in Louisiana and would have done away with it in the other Southern states. But with his death the South remained unchanged, sinking back into the old ways. A self-seeking demagogue, he won by giving and promising the people. In his brief time he made Louisiana the most progressive state in the union, educationally and otherwise. Cf Marquis W. Childs, "I Write From Washington" (Harper, 1942) p 17. Cf also Harnett T. Kane, "Louisiana Hayride: The American Rehearsal for Dictatorship, 1928-1940"

(16) "Let us take a look at the record. Today we have a debt of \$105,928,-249,797.88. A majority of this was created by peace-time deficits, if we credit war taxation to war expenditures. Before the war is conclusively won we can, I believe, expect a debt of \$300,000,000,000", Sen. Harry F. Byrd told an audience of more than 800 at the 11th annual meeting of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations in Boston, Dec. 12, 1942.

This, Byrd pointed out, amounts to a debt of "nearly \$2500 for every man, woman and child in America. . . . It would form 1200 bands of dollars around the earth. . . . We now owe over \$100,000,000,000 and still have unspent \$175,-000,000,000 in defense appropriations. . . . Servicing this debt alone, at current interest rates, will cost \$7,500,000,000 yearly. . . .

"Gen. Marshall . . . said . . . that \$100,000,000,000 was the approximate cost of preparing this country to an equal extent to the military preparedness of Germany. We have now already appropriated \$220,000,000,000 for defense, and new appropriations are constantly being made. The last World War cost approximately 25 billions. . . .

"When the New Deal took charge of our government nearly 10 years ago, it adopted as a settled policy the expending of public money on the assumption that money borrowed and spent is a means to promote prosperity. For 10 years we indulged in the costly experiment of spending for spending's sake . . . to increase the purchasing power of the public by spending borrowed money. . . .

"The result was that every department of the government . . . became inoculated with the germ of waste and extravagance. When the necessity came for preparing . . . for war those same wasteful policies were carried into the war effort. . . . The next fiscal year will be, I predict, a 100-billion dollar year. Understand me—I am for spending every single dollar that is necessary to win this war . . . but . . . I see no justification for not using ordinary business prudence."

Sen. Harry S. Truman, speaking on the same occasion, said, "It is futile to raise so large an army that its attempted supply and maintenance will destroy the essential civilian economy." Americans must not suffer "unnecessary burdens of waste, carelessness and confusion". (Boston *Herald*, Dec. 13, 1942)

CENTRALIZING TENDENCIES

Tendencies toward centralization in governmental affairs as in corporative control have long been apparent. Where once hardly discernible now we see strong trends. All the forces as they swiften tend to unify and strengthen each other. As to where the dangerous currents and swirling passions of these tossing times are taking us, there may well be varying views.

"Recent Social Trends", published in 1933 and edited by William Fielding Ogburn, was a report on the Hoover Commission's survey. Nine years later the same editor was responsible for the special issue in May, 1942, of the *American Journal of Sociology*, devoted to "Recent Social Changes", which brought the story up to date.

"Our Times", contributed by Ogburn, recognized that "the changes during the past decade were . . . in the direction of evolutionary trends". The "depression of the 1930's and the beginnings of World War II" brought great changes in economic and political institutions. "The government had enormously expanded its executive functions in part at the expense of the legislative and judicial, while the free enterprise economic system had been changed into a managed economy."

The war may give a "tremendous push in what will be the long evolution of the economic system from a laissez faire capitalistic one to a managed economy, directed in its significant phases by the government which will then have become the most powerful of all social institutions. . . . We thus see in the depression and the war the contrast of the old idealisms of individualism and the new ones of service, sacrifice, and unity in the common war effort."

The enlarged functions and growing power of centralized government were clearly discerned and stated by A. A. Berle, Jr. before the Temporary National Economic Committee in 1941, when he declared, "The government will have to enter into direct financing of activities now supposed to be private, and a continuance of that direct financing must be inevitably that the government will ultimately control and own those activities. . . . The government will gradually come to own most of the productive plants of the United States."

Wendell Willkie, at the annual dinner of the U. S. Conference of Mayors, January 13, 1942, explaining that "the Nazis' 'new order' . . . the most challenging economic conception that has appeared in human affairs since the industrial revolution . . . has harnessed the forces of the modern industrial age under the direction of a centralized government control", said, "We must . . . meet the challenge. . . . When supreme and unquestioned authority is vested in one man or a small group of men both in governmental and economic affairs, and when all others are forced to obey their orders promptly and without question, you get results, particularly under modern industrial developments. Nazi and Japanese successes in the war to date confirm the point."

Americans are resourceful and can meet Willkie's challenge. Moreover they have long shown totalitarian tendencies. Yet we are not as well disciplined as the Germans who yield so readily to the authoritarian 'verboten'. The American is given to isms, from Anabaptism to Zionism. Some of our expressions, 'all out', 'go the limit' lend a native twang to 'teetotalitarianism'. (1)

England took the lead in meeting the totalitarian challenge, as explained by E. F. M. Durbin, senior lecturer on international relations at the London School of Economics, in "The New British Industrial System", *Harpers*, March, 1942. "The present war has greatly increased the economic power of the government in Britain. . . . The war has merely accelerated movements that were already apparent before it began."

Our federal Congress, in scores of enactments, has enlarged the power of our chief executive in governmental, economic and military affairs. (2) With the commander in chief in control of armed forces to a number approaching ten million, with civilian federal employees mostly directly under the executive approaching three million, with millions of others employed in industries that are government regulated or licensed, and with federal patronage running to billions where once it was millions, we have come a long way on the road Willkie told us we must take. (3)

This development of bureaucracy, this drift to what we may summarize as 'totalitarian', got a great impetus in the first World War. "Something close to totalitarian economies were operating by 1918. . . . Even in the United States, government activities were considerably increased over the 1913 level by highway and school construction, traffic control and the expansion of many social services, especially in cities. Great corporations in the United States broke away from the free market, and began to 'ad-

minister' prices. . . . The current World War begins where the last one left off, with totalitarian state controls in all belligerent countries, and in many neutrals. The United States moves steadily in the same direction." (4)

In his "Inventory of Basic Trends" in "The Road We Are Traveling", Stuart Chase, from whom we quote, finds the major theme is the "shift from an economy where businessmen", who buy to sell at a profit, made the important decisions, to an economy where a government official makes the most important decisions. "It goes on relentlessly in every nation on earth." (5)

This is not the 'managerial revolution', but it is the revolution from the small profit maker to the salaried bureaucratic government employee. How in the eternal flux of the social set up that is incident to our adjustment to these new conditions of increased power and a constantly changing technology,—how amid these changes we may preserve the thing that seems most precious to us, our freedom, is the problem of the time. It is to this that Peter Drucker addresses himself in his earliest book, "The End of Economic Man", as in his latest, "The Future of Industrial Man" (John Day, 1942).

In preserving what seems precious we may prevent the development of something we value even more. These antagonistic trends, in spite of our human fallibility, must be harmonized. Our Constitution-makers realized, and Drucker traces the idea back to St. Augustine, that the function of government should be limited. Only so could man be free to live his own way and develop. But in a growing economy it became the chief function of government and law to preserve new property acquisitions and so give some stability to society. Our laws and social structure are still those of a mercantile society.

As a result of new power and new technologies and the growth of industry, this stability has been upset. The functional power of an industrial society becomes of greater importance as ownership is diffused through small stockholders. This management power or functional power of industry has been given no legal sanction. It is allowed and practiced because it is the only way of managing the intricate machinery of production.

Coincident with the rise of this management power has come the gradual legal recognition of the power of organized labor. The struggle between these two new powers, managerial and labor, calls for a strong

centralized government to harmonize them. In the heat of war, to secure success maximum production is essential whatever privileges of the two contending forces must be sacrificed.

Drucker's line of thought follows closely upon James Burnham's "The Managerial Revolution" (John Day, 1941) who in turn was stimulated by the close analytical thinking of Lawrence Dennis. Getting beneath the foam of abstractions to detect such deep-running currents is to risk the danger of drowning.

The trends hidden in the news of the day, the flotsam on the swiftening current, the evidence of the quickening tide that would soon sweep and scour,—all these were seen by but few.

Henry Stanley Haskins in his recently acknowledged "Meditations in Wall Street" (published anonymously, Morrow, 1940, with an introduction by Albert Jay Nock) had a weather eye and words to voice his premonitions. "Sometimes you see little changes fluttering their pennons to show you that a great change is on its way."

NOTES

(1) "The American Roots of Fascism", *Yankee*, Feb., 1938, by Porter Sargent, dealt with Yankee innovations which had been adopted and adapted by the Fascist countries,—summer camps utilizing children's wasted summers, vigilante and Ku Klux methods, the third degree, the punitive use of the rubber hose and the like.

In many American households children are still forbidden to do this or that. They are repressed which often results in frustration. That makes the things forbidden alluring. In adult life, also, we run up against the old Puritanical tendency to forbid and suppress. Many adults, when released from authority, finding they have money in their pockets to buy these prohibited things, yield to sex allure and alcoholic excess or the exhilaration or false ecstasy they have been denied. That creates a market for which there will be purveyors. Laws are enacted to regulate or suppress night clubs or burlesque shows or whatnot. That establishes a profitable and vested interest in securing exemption so there is an incentive on the part of these interests for more prohibitory laws to be passed that further exemptions may be sold with which to derive revenue to silence enforcement agencies. This vicious circle leads to the spending of much money to secure election of officers who have the power to appoint these enforcement officers. And so Puritanism, Protestant or Catholic, wrecks Democracy.

(2) A list of over a hundred Acts which delegated to the President powers "not specified by the Constitution", was inserted in the *Congressional Record* at the request of Sen. Wiley of Wisconsin, July 5, 1939.

(3) The increase in the number of federal employees under President Roosevelt

has been five to six fold. In January, 1933, there were 563,000 persons in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government. In 1940 there were 933,000, reports former Congressman Pettengill, appointed financial chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1924, in his "Smoke-Screen".

This great increase is due to the growing intricacy of bureaucratic government and the complication of its laws. "The Government Printing Office . . . states that from March 14, 1936, to October 7, 1939, only three and a half years, 115 agencies of the Federal Government issued 14,889 rules, regulations and administrative decisions telling American business how to operate. . . . The Code of Federal Regulations about to be issued [1940] by the Government Printing Office will be in 17 volumes, averaging 1,100 pages, or a total of 19,000. This covers only to June 1, 1938, and is exclusive, of course, of the United States Statutes at Large. It is the law written by downtown Washington after Congress goes home." (Pettengill, p 53)

"Employment in the Executive Branch of Government reached 2,207,754 at the end of June, an increase of 140,881 during the month, the Civil Service Commission reported today. The War Department added 81,444 civilian employees, bringing its total to 824,698. The Navy added 33,811 workers, making its staff total 449,826" (AP, Aug. 19, 1942). "The Federal Government added 98,715 civilian employees to its pay roll in September, bringing the grand total of workers in the Executive Branch inside and outside Washington to 2,549,474, the Civil Service Commission reported" (AP, Dec. 11, 1942). At an average of \$2000 each, this would involve expenditure of 5 billions a year. It is probably much more and rising (Cf Ralph Robey, "Our Federal Bureaucracy", *Newsweek*, Dec. 21, 1942).

Senator Byrd of Virginia, "leading economy advocate in the Senate", charged in December that the number of federal employees was nearly 3,000,000. The President, replying in rebuttal, reported "the total number of federal employees as 2,500,000. Senator Byrd said that total was reached about Aug. 1." His information showed "the total number . . . today to be nearer 3,000,000 than the 2,500,000 mentioned by the President". (*Chr Sci Monitor*, Dec. 10, 1942)

(4) Before the last war industry was slowing down, unemployment was increasing. J. P. Morgan's business was falling off. We were on the verge of a depression which was averted by the munition boom and the war. Of this course we are reminded by Matthew Josephson in "The President Makers" (Harcourt, Brace, 1940).

"Early in the second term of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, toward 1938, the movement of progress showed signs of reaching its natural limits, halting before apparently insurmountable obstacles, in a manner nearly identical with the stoppage of President Wilson's New Freedom program. The forward movement under Wilson, had it continued at its swift, initial pace, would have confronted quickly the tormenting problem of economic inequality. There are now clear enough signs that the Wilsonian movement, at first so immensely promising, halted before the first World War was upon us, rather than because of the coming of war.

"Under the second Roosevelt, in a later phase of our economic development,

very imposing social gains had been registered. We were, by 1937, the time of the President's contest to 'liberalize' the Supreme Court farther along the road of social progress than ever before. We had departed boldly enough, as a government, from the policy of laissez-faire so that one out of every six Americans was supported by government aid. Some constructive ideas were in the air; new methods were being mastered, beginnings were being made at the management of giant public projects by devoted and patriotic young public servants of a new type. There was bustle and hope again, and a new human prosperity. . . .

"Then, very markedly, the advancing movement, which hoped to conserve and increase human and natural wealth alike, came to a halt. Once more, by a historical 'coincidence', in the midst of domestic crisis, unfinished and unsolved, we turn as a nation to confront the world's wars, the dangers and the opportunities they offer."

(5) A "swift movie" of the progress of practically all nations toward control without ownership, totalitarian political economy, is given by Stuart Chase in "The Road We Are Traveling" (20th Century Fund, 1942). "By 1938 . . . every considerable nation on earth, whether at war or at peace, reverted to the state controlled economy of 1917, where the government gave the orders and citizens obeyed. . . . In this reversion to the starkest kind of military and economic realism, parliamentary democracy was forced to retreat. . . . Governments are now claiming and spending anywhere from 20 to 70 per cent of national income. . . .

"Germany does not permit ruin and bankruptcy and has little use for gold. It is Germany we are up against now. Adam Smith may heave in his grave, but no nation in this dangerous world of 1942 is meekly going bankrupt because some text books say it ought to. It will go physically bankrupt when it runs out of food, coal, iron, oil, aluminum, and not before. . . . Capitalists and businessmen were not eliminated but they lost the power of making important decisions. . . . Those who receive the profits are not permitted to withhold them from active use. They must put the profits back into circulation either by expanding plant or by purchasing government bonds. The essential point is that profits are no longer the spark plug of the economic system. In capitalism, profits are what make the system tick. In Germany they are just another part of the national income. The idea that the Nazi economy was a decadent form of capitalism came chiefly from Marxist debaters. Power has passed completely out of the hands of capitalists in Germany."

Japan "has a one-party government and a planned economy. This system is aimed with deadly efficiency at the increase of armaments, and the restriction of consumer goods to release purchasing power for buying government bonds. . . . Luxury goods are banned. The government has taken over the entire shipping industry and fixes its prices and wages. Big business is not in the doghouse, as in Germany, but it is not on the front porch, either. Standards of living of the rich are declining rapidly, as in Britain. . . . Britain, Canada, Australia have gone farther along the path of planned economy than has the United States, though not yet so far as Japan, Germany, Italy and Russia."

UNIFYING THE NATION

'These United States' is the phrase we still use. It harks back to the time when, to 'form a more perfect union', the Articles of Confederation which had loosely held together the thirteen colonies were superseded by our present Constitution.(1)

The sovereign states, made over from colonies of diverse origin, Puritan, Calvinist, Catholic, sought to preserve the local rights and customs of the older period of isolation. Only those privileges that they could not maintain were surrendered to the Federal Government. And the Constitution was written to define precisely the rights surrendered.

In the slow process of fusing a nation from these separate elements, they have been alloyed in the melting pot with millions of immigrants from the heterogeneous peoples of Europe. Improvement in transportation and communication have brought mutual acquaintance, shared ideals and beliefs, an approximation to national unity.

"Do We Have National Unity?" asks Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard in the *New Republic*, Feb. 2, 1942. "America engaged in four major wars prior to the twentieth century; and according to any ideal standard, the lack of national unity was, in every instance, shocking." (2) Today he finds that while unity is not complete, it is more nearly so than in any previous war. And his neighbor, Rollo Walter Brown, patriotically echoes his analytical attitude, "We have achieved unity, a unity of free individuals, and it is a greater unity than has ever before been achieved in the history of our country." (*Boston Herald*, May 17, 1942)

With greater and greater unity, more and more perfect but not yet past perfect, the wonder grows that from such complex beginnings and diverse elements and over so great and varied a territory, this has been achieved. The triumph is not merely due to education but to technological improvements in all the forms of communication, from transportation to advertising, toward the ideal of 130,000,000 people with but a single thought, all hearts that beat as one.

The original American was a pioneer and consequently an individualist. His family was then largely self-sustaining, grew its food, spun and

wove linen and wool for clothing. Shelter was wrought from materials at hand. The community made small demands upon a man, which he could pay in labor. The Federal Government made less demand, and he expected little of it. Federal taxes were indirect and it was only at the Custom House that the average man became conscious of them. Every man's house was his castle, with its own water supply, sewage system, and health precautions. No inspectors came snooping about his dungheap.

His opinions came from on high, from the dominie, the occasional political orator, and were threshed out around the stove in the country store. His interests were local. He had an affection for the land where he was born. His duty was to his conscience and his God. Rarely did he think of duty to the Federal Government or those who ran it. Such abstractions as "our country", "our flag", "the Constitution", were later to assert their power increasingly upon him.(3) Such symbols feed our emotional life. The Goddess of Liberty which came to us from the French Revolution, with her Phrygian cap from Asia Minor, has given way to the more recent development of Alma Mater, both unintelligible to the English.

When the colonies first confederated, the swiftest means of communication was by horse over bridle path through woods and swamps. With the building of roads and the coming of wheeled traffic, 'a more perfect union' became desirable.

Eighty years later, though railroads and telegraph had brought the distant parts of the union together, so divergent were the economic and cultural interests of the North and South, so imperfect and tenuous were the bonds that held them, so assertive were the states in maintaining their rights, that some of them seceded. To 'preserve the union' we fought a long and bloody war, the greater economic and industrial power group eventually prevailing.(4)

The building in the eighties of our first world navy, "The Great White Fleet", turned our attention to the Caribbean and our southern neighbors. The Spanish War planted the American flag in Cuba and the Philippines, enlarged our geographic conceptions and our view of the nation's functions and "manifest destiny".

The unification of the nation was greatly advanced by new techniques of communication in the first World War. Four-Minute-Men, Liberty Bond drives, and what we soon came to recognize as propaganda brought a degree of unity to a people who for generations had split political hairs over the cracker barrel.(5)

"The psychology of propaganda" was a new phrase to the American people in 1920, standing for new ideas and new practices, when after the war articles on this subject began to appear. (6) Soon we were to learn how we had been brought to the enthusiasm for the war through the plans of designing men. (7)

Bond salesmen after the war sought a livelihood selling cigarette brands or alkalizers. The millions were conditioned to 'ask for', 'write for', 'accept no substitute'. Writers trained in Creel's Bureau became publicity experts for the rebuilding of damaged reputations. Public relations counsel vied with corporation lawyers and detective spy bureaus in bleeding the great corporations under pretense of protection.

In the present war, the people have but one thought, to win. Our financial and industrial interests are united as never before. There is almost complete unity. Seldom is heard a discouraging word. No longer are we insistent on our rights. We hear more of our duties and obligations. The freedom and independence that was prized on the frontier is thrust behind us as we face dangers so vividly portrayed to us.

More complete unity of command, not only military but economic, is necessary. Only through despotic centralization of authority is it possible to win.

Bred in the democratic tradition, we believe in the ballot. Government, meaning those who are in control, to continue to exert their manifold powers, must still make popular appeal to win votes. Marvelous skill, tact, perseverance, and political sense have brought together such discordant forces as the economic royalist and the communist, and enlisted great financial and industrial powers for years in opposition. As an example of leadership in the education of a people, there is little to compare with it since Mohammed.

To unite the nation it has been necessary to build public opinion, to create common impulses. The propaganda techniques, like the political oratory, of the previous war, would today seem crude and obsolete.

Information for the news hungry people of the country comes through Washington as in the last war it came through London. Coordinators, offices, bureaus of information stratified one on top of the other, each with its staff of specialists, are maintained at an annual cost of thirty millions. The country's leading writers and publicists have been concentrated in Washington. This limits their writing to the sort that the administration approves, and our reading largely to what they write. (8)

The visual and auditory appeal of the newsreels, against the background created by movies, books, editorials, and speeches, reinforce each other when directed toward the same end. So we have the promotion of an idea that this is a 'people's war' which is more appealing than a war for 'democracy', an abstraction. The idea of 'sacrifice' makes a stronger and more primitive appeal than the "give till it hurts" of the first World War. The notion that it is our duty to reeducate the peoples of the world to our 'way of life' is more difficult to get across as it does not promote international unity. All these approaches, presented to eye and ear repeatedly until a new theme is brought forward, leave a permanent impression.

Radio makes it possible to present ideas or develop attitudes, morally preparing the millions for new measures for peace or war. It makes for international unity and may be used to promote international hostility. Radio is essential to modern warfare to keep armies, tanks, planes, submarines in touch. Without the two-way radio from plane to tank to headquarters, the 'blitzkrieg' would have been impossible. (9)

Those who would exert great political power today must be masters of the radio. Lesser men developed the technique, advising us to buy a brand of toothpaste, directing us to crowd the bargain counter at 9 A.M., or urging us to vote for this or that.

In this new art which supersedes oratory, the radio speaker cannot derive inspiration from the crowd by watching the faces or listening for their reaction. His approach, his persuasion, must be attuned to the average. Every sentence must be planned to appeal to numbers.

New types of men have been brought to the fore by the use of these new techniques. Huey Long and his disciples and many another have been able to appeal to millions sight unseen thousands of miles away. No longer is the candidate for office obliged to ride the circuits or speak from platforms. His persuasive voice reaches your ear at your moment of leisure.

The voice that reaches the public ear may control the votes which control the purse strings which control the newspapers which hire the columnists, all of which help to modify or make, confirm or destroy what we used to call 'public opinion'.

The forming of public opinion has thus become an art, which follows Michelangelo's dictum, "Art is the expurgation of the superfluous". In presenting the news, it is merely necessary to select, to accent, to highlight or shade the items headlined on the front page or relegated to the inside.

It is no longer desirable to manufacture news crudely as in the first World War or even to distort it. It is so fumbled occasionally, due to anachronistic blunderers.

But a gauge, a measure, is necessary to follow the rise and fall of public opinion as it is created. The opinion poll was perfected so that every step in the campaign of opinion building can be tested and the next one modified in harmony with observed results. Questions can be so devised as to elicit the desired reply, then exploited to evoke the bandwagon response. The opinion poll is as important to political control as the steam gauge is to the locomotive engineer. (10)

This new art of building public opinion has brought about the greatest revolution that has come out of the new technology. It rests on the great increase in available power and the inventions which followed bringing new and swifter forms of communication. The power of the radio voice is the power of the dynamos. The power of our political manipulators on public opinion today depends on developed horsepower. Power and technology have made it possible to influence and change the feelings and attitudes of the millions by the same reiterated idea, slogan, prejudice, or inspiration, so that unity is achieved. (11)

NOTES

(1) "Joseph Story was ten years old in 1789 when the Constitution was adopted; his earliest impressions, therefore, were of the Confederation." In a judicial decision, he later referred "to that period of general bankruptcy, and distress and difficulty (1785). . . . The Union of the States was crumbling into ruins, under the old Confederation. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce were at their lowest ebb. There was infinite danger to all the States from local interests and jealousies." (Quoted by Brooks Adams in "The Theory of Social Revolutions", Macmillan, 1913)

(2) "The Hidden Civil War: The Story of the Copperheads" by Wood Gray (Viking, 1942) makes clear that up to 1865 the Nation was not unified. So great became the diversive forces that some of the states seceded. But even the North was not united at the start of the conflict. Those who opposed the war and sought other ways of settlement became known as "Copperheads". So strong were they that in the autumn of 1862 they elected fourteen out of eighteen Congressmen in Ohio, seven out of eleven in Indiana, nine out of fourteen in Illinois, three out of six in Wisconsin, and captured the legislatures in Indiana and Illinois.

(3) The figure of freedom and the eagle were more important as symbols in the early 19th century. Then we thrilled to Drake's "When Freedom from her mountain height unfurled her standard to the air". Then every patriot heard the

eagle scream every time he twisted the lion's tail. Our eagle, in opposition to the British lion symbol, was patriotically adopted from the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg successors of the Holy Roman Empire which through Rome derived it from Mesopotamia. The bald eagle, a fish eating pirate, is generally used, whereas the neglected golden eagle is a bird of some nobility.

Ralph H. Gabriel in his "The Course of American Democratic Thought" (Ronald Press, 1940) traces the development of the ideals and symbols that served to unify the nation and make "e pluribus unum". "The democratic faith appeared in American culture as one of the principal forces making for what Whitman used to call adhesiveness. The ultimate appeal of the formula was to the feelings. . . . The ideas of nationality or of the State are abstractions. They require symbolic expression. . . . As a result of the poverty in symbolism, the flag became the chief representation of the nation. . . . It is no accident that the two great patriotic songs of the English-speaking peoples, 'God Save the King' and 'The Star-Spangled Banner', refer to a living symbolic person and to a material symbolic object."

(4) Since the greater steam power force put down the weaker manpower force, the North has continued to hold the South in mortgage bonds. The South had earlier rebelled against the mortgage bondage of the British merchants and so helped to bring on the Revolution, which resulted in transferring financial control from England to the North. After the Revolution to escape from their colonialism, debts to British merchants were repudiated and Tory properties confiscated. Escape was permanent for the North whose commercial powers soon replaced the British in the South. The Civil War was essentially an effort of the South to win its independence from Northern financial dominance, but it resulted in their getting in deeper, and they have been exploited as a colony ever since. Under the New Deal, the support of Southern Congressmen and Senators is still determined by the financial control of Northern interests. This view, not generally understood, was set forth by B. B. Kendrick, Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, in his presidential address before the Southern Historical Association in Atlanta, November 7, 1941, and published, somewhat revised, in the *Journal of Southern History*, Feb. 1942, under the title "The Colonial Status of the South".

(5) Alexis de Tocqueville writing on "Democracy in America" in the early 1830's noted how discussion groups of small communities decided the choice of those, known to all, who were to be voted for. "In the United States politics are the end and aim of education; in Europe its principal object is to fit men for private life. . . . The maintenance of democratic institutions in the United States is attributable to the circumstances, the laws, and the manners of that country."

(6) Raymond Dodge in "The Psychology of Propaganda", *Religious Education*, XV, 1920, brought out this new idea naively but wisely pointed out the dangers. "It has been discovered by individuals, by associations, and by governments that a certain kind of advertising can be used to mold public opinion and control democratic majorities. As long as public opinion rules the destinies of human affairs, there will be no end to an instrument that controls it. The tremendous forces

of propaganda are now common property. They are available for the unscrupulous and the destructive as well as for the constructive and the moral. This gives us a new interest in its technique, namely, to inquire if anywhere there is an opportunity for regulative and protective interference with its indiscriminate exploitation. . . . The second great social danger is the tendency to overload and level down every great human incentive in the pursuit of relatively trivial ends. To become blase is the inevitable penalty of emotional exploitation."

(7) How great a task was accomplished in 1914 was explained by the French minister and historian Gabriel Hanotaux quoting Robert Bacon, then ambassador to France and formerly a partner in the House of Morgan, who said, "In the United States there are at present perhaps 50,000 persons who feel that the nation should immediately intervene in the war on your side. But there are over 100,000,000 Americans who do not so think. Our duty is to reverse these figures so that the 50,000 may become 100,000,000." (Cf "What Makes Lives", Porter Sargent, 1940, p 145)

(8) "The Government is spending \$32,000,000 this year on its 'information services', its press agents large and small. They turn out hundreds of thousands of words a day, and they're just beginning. . . . Phrases, phrases, phrases, and the citizens of Pocatello, Idaho, and Punxsutawney, Pa. are still in the dark, still wondering what's going on. Churchill's heroic statement that 'never before in history have so many owed so much to so few' applies to Washington: 'Never before in history have so few kept so much from so many'." (*Life*, Jan. 4, 1942)

In *Harpers*, Feb., 1943, Michael Darrock and Joseph P. Dorn, under the title "Davis and Goliath: The OWI and Its Gigantic Assignment", deal with the vicissitudes of these various 'information' agencies, the reorganization of the whole by Elmer Davis, and his more or less successful battles with Army and Navy bureaucrats. They report, "The Office of War Information (OWI) will spend more than twenty-five million dollars during the fiscal year 1943. . . . It employs over 4,000 writers, linguists, publicists, radio figures, artists, and social scientists, scattered throughout the country and in several foreign capitals. . . . The overseas branch, which in size and cost is by far the bigger end of OWI, is headed by playwright Robert Sherwood, who wrote 'Idiot's Delight'. . . . Its budget and appropriation was nineteen million dollars compared to the six million appropriated for the domestic branch."

(9) The future of radio depends on the development of further power. Few stations yet can broadcast a thousand miles. With further increase in power and technological improvement, we may have transmitting stations that will send the same voice everywhere in the world. But that will not mean this voice can be heard. There must also be receiving sets for which additional power is necessary. We used to have a battery for our receiving set. Now we merely press a button, forgetting that we are drawing on power that comes from the whirling dynamos. In all North America, 1122 stations use only 5706 power kilowatts. In Europe, less than half as many stations (470) use twice as much power (12,156), as reported by the International Broadcasting Union, Geneva, June 1942. The dicta-

tors must be heard.

The water powers of the earth are yet little used. The harnessing of these and the production of power by burning coal in the mine may multiply power so derived a hundredfold. In time these sources may become relatively unimportant as we learn to utilize the sun's energy direct or to harness interatomic energy.

Even with the present enterprises now in hand, in the next four years the power available in the United States alone will be doubled. And those who hold the power today will control, if they care to, this new power.

10) Advertising agencies developed a new technique for testing the sales resistance or receptivity to a new brand or service. Door to door questioning was soon succeeded by 'sampling'. Out of this came the opinion poll, useful for creating as well as testing opinion. While supposedly asking the sovereign citizen his opinion, the questions can be so shaped that he will give the desired answer. As the advertising expert explained, "We knew what we wanted and we went after it with a poll". That's the way to go fishing.

(11) "Every trend of modern science is toward the greater unification of mankind. . . . Isolation of individual nations will be as difficult in the future as would be the isolation of New England or the South today", declared Franklin D. Roosevelt as early as 1926 in his address at Milton Academy.

World unity for the present is of the future. The range of the bombing plane still determines the limits of the sphere of influence of any one power. When the effort to outlaw bombing from planes at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva was thwarted by Lord Londonderry who claimed that they were necessary in policing the "outlying districts" of the world, the Turkish delegate spoke up in reply, "What are the 'outlying districts'? The world is round." But Londonderry knew that without the bombing plane, Britain would have difficulty in 'policing' the Northwest Frontier of India and Hadramaut in southern Arabia.

So those thinkers who know their geography as well as their technology, from Mackinder to Stuart Chase and Ely Culbertson, see the world of the immediate future as falling into four chief regions. Sociologists are beginning to see that mankind is a function of, and functions in the 'region'. (Cf *Social Forces*, Dec. 1942)

As more and simpler receiving sets come into use in the world's far regions in Asia, Africa, and South America, there may in time develop a world-wide unity of ideas, promoted by the persuasive radio. The voice of one man, recorded in their lingo, may eventually penetrate every Eskimo igloo or hottentot hut. Eventually all men may speak one language and all think the same thought at the same moment.

That's the way with the white ants. Perhaps that's why they have antennae. But this unification business may not go so far. Huxley advises, "Let us remind ourselves that . . . we with our human type of society must give up any hope of developing such altruistic instincts as those of the social insects". (J. Huxley, "Evolution: The Modern Synthesis", Allen and Unwin, 1942)

NATIONALIZING EDUCATIONAL CONTROL

With the unifying of the nation has come some centralizing of education. The great faith of Americans in education has tended to harmonize educational ideals and practices for the whole country. The inevitable diffusion of ideas would alone tend in this direction. All these processes have gone on more or less continuously and only occasionally suspected. But the tendency today is to reduce cost and improve instruction by consolidation of school districts and centralization of direction.

This educational practice is, however, by no means general. In hundreds of towns and cities the school boards still serve as training schools for local politicians. In conservative rural communities in 1933 there were 127,000 district boards with 423,974 school trustees who legislated and acted as executives on educational affairs. This democratic system holds out in the farming states. In Illinois there isn't even a state board to supervise. *Time*, Jan. 4, 1943, reports "The toughest obstacle to school consolidation in Illinois is its archaic patchwork of 11,957 autonomous boards of education (there is no state board), which are a minor but profitable branch of politics. Today their schools, even though they have only three pupils, get state aid based on a minimum of 18. . . . One thousand Illinois schools have closed recently because poorly paid teachers are taking war jobs. Most of the shut-downs are one-room rural schools—the 9,703 one-room schools of Illinois outnumber any other state."

This faith in education was not general among the thirteen colonies. The theological hierarchy in Massachusetts in 1636, as soon as shelter and food had been provided, established a 'college' to provide an educated ministry to succeed them. But in Virginia, Governor Berkeley forty years later 'thanked God' there were "no free schools or printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy . . . and printing has divulged them".

Whether there should be school or no school and what should be taught and how, continued to vary in the colonies. The New York Dutch, the Germans and Moravians of Pennsylvania, the Swedes and English Catholics of Maryland, each brought with them their own educational practices and institutions, which flourished for a time. But today

even the Friends' schools are fearful of continuance, the Lutherans still hold their own, while the Catholic schools and colleges multiply.(1)

"By promoting the separation of church and state . . . the Revolution" opened a path "for the subsequent establishment of free tax-supported schools—a milestone in the popularization of knowledge," Merle Curti reminds us in "The American Scholar in Three Wars", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, June, 1942. "During the decades following the Revolution, a remarkable group of Americans were writing treatises attempting to apply the theories of eighteenth-century European liberalism to education in America. Among them were Thomas Jefferson, Noah Webster, Benjamin Rush, Du Pont de Nemours, and others less known today. . . . They urged universal education even for women. They advocated free schooling supported by taxes and extending through the university. In this first burst of national enthusiasm they sought a national educational system and a national university", writes Beale in "A History of Freedom of Teaching in American Schools" (Scribner, 1941), recommending "Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century" by Allen O. Hansen, "for an illuminating study of these men".

With many diverse interests promoting education, it is not strange that myths and distortions of our early educational history should have been preserved. During the first World War our educational historians purged their texts of much that had previously been generally accepted. Paul Monroe, now that he is emeritus, slashes away the undergrowth and uncovers long accepted untruths. All this is fully documented in reproductions in his text and in a supplementary microfilm.(2)

"The idea of state-supported schools for every community . . . was common to all the Calvinistic branches of the Protestant church. The Puritans shared it with the Reformed church of Scotland, of the Netherlands, of the German Rhine States, and of the Swiss in Geneva. . . . The Dutch exerted an educational influence over the Puritans in England, as well as over the Pilgrims who settled Plymouth."

It was during their sojourn in Holland that the Pilgrims first became acquainted with the state-supported schools, which the Dutch as the "leading commercial people of the world" had seen fit to adopt from Prussia. "England", Monroe tells us, "had no system of state supported schools".

The 'founding' of our school system, as it has traditionally been presented to us, Monroe shows to be a haphazard growth. With the forma-

tion of labor unions, the working men came to make demands for something better than the charity schools which had been established by the churches. In New York City the labor unions pressed for public schools as early as 1820. In Boston, which did not become a city until 1820, "schools for elementary teaching were not supported by the town until 1819 and were not combined with the city system until 1855".

From 1830 to 1860 "the laboring classes began to organize and to formulate their views on . . . the freedom of public land, the abolition of monopolies, the abolition of imprisonment for debt . . . operation of the United States mails on Sunday". The "most effective" of labor's demands were put forth as "six 'Essays on Public Education', published first in 1830". One "raised the question of the source of the funds for such a school system. The answer was 'from the government, because education is in reality a form of legislation and if wisely cared for might to a great extent supersede the necessity and save the expense of criminal laws, jails and almshouses'." (3)

The Massachusetts Law of 1827 gave democratic local control of the schools. Horace Mann termed it "the most unfortunate school law ever enacted for Massachusetts". Monroe tells us it "reduced their efficiency to the lowest terms". As a result and due to the agitation of Horace Mann, Massachusetts inaugurated the first state school system in 1837 and Mann served as secretary of the State Board of Education till 1848. The second state school system was established in Connecticut, due to the influence of Henry Barnard.

Barnard "had made an extensive study of European conditions in 1835-36" and "published an account of these observations in the 'First Annual Report' in 1839". The French school system under Guizot (4) had been organized as a result of Victor Cousin's "famous report of 'The Study of Public Instruction in Germany, particularly in Prussia', which . . . was reprinted as a legislative document by Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and other states. This report had more influence than any other one thing in the shaping of the state system of Michigan. . . . Subsequent visits to Europe gave Dr. Barnard a vast mass of information which appeared in 1854 under the title 'National Education in Europe' . . . still the largest single work in English on this subject. . . .

"Professor Calvin Stowe, husband of Harriet Beecher Stowe, was authorized in 1836 by the legislature of Ohio to investigate the educational system of the German states and to make a report with recommendations."

Horace Mann in his "Seventh Annual Report" published in 1844, lists a series of reforms obtained in large part from his study of educational conditions in Europe the previous year. Among some of the reforms were the abolition of corporal punishment, ample provision for the training of teachers, appeal to emulation or competition based upon the most recently developed psychological theories of German teachers. In the curriculum he advocated specifically an introduction of the arts and study of natural objects, learning from experience rather than memory.

Horace Mann's reforms met with great opposition from New England's conservatives, but as a result of his visit to Europe his "Seventh Annual Report" "proved to be one of the most influential documents Mann ever wrote". This was too subversive for Boston. His "reforms were defeated in the most intellectual community in the country, largely on the grounds that they were European ideas". And Mann was driven to Ohio to establish Antioch College.

The Federal Government originally had nothing to do with education. There is no mention of the subject in the Constitution, for in forming the union the people surrendered none of their local rights to control education. However, as early as 1785 the Federal Government in distributing its public lands west of the Alleghenies, reserved "lot No. 16 of every township, for the maintenance of public schools within the said township". (5) Much later, assignment of lands made provision for advanced technical education. This was the first step toward the establishment of state universities. A Federal Bureau of Education was established only after the purchase of Alaska in 1867 in order to provide for the education of the Alaskan Indians. Incidentally this bureau was given supervision of other federal expenditures for education throughout the nation.

In the midst of the Civil War the first Morrill Act was passed which "cleverly added military training to agricultural and engineering education, thus making it a 'war emergency' measure", Arthur Moehlman points out in the *Nation's Schools*, Feb., 1941. Vocational education soon became a vested interest and, though meeting with strong opposition, continued to receive Congressional appropriations, which were greatly increased at the time of the first World War. Moehlman goes on to trace the process of federalization:

"These vocationalists were smart strategists. They cleverly used the drift to war to emotionalize their program as a defense measure. President Woodrow Wilson signed the Smith-Hughes Act early in 1917.

Twenty years later, despite this federal stimulation, not more than 15 per cent of the total need for vocational education had been satisfied. . . . The current emergency growing out of the present European War already has been capitalized upon by existing groups. The technic is the same." Federal Commissioner Studebaker in February, 1942, stated, "The function of the Office of Education in connection with the emergency program has been to administer \$191,500,000 of Federal funds thus far appropriated to the several States and to institutions for higher education in support of defense-training activities." (6)

The need for federal aid to education in other than vocational fields became apparent in the high degree of illiteracy revealed by the draft in 1917. The average for the whole nation, it was disclosed, was 10% and for backward communities in southern states ran as high as 80%. This convinced many that if we were to preserve our democracy, common schooling could no longer be left to local control. (7)

In common with many other educators, Henry Holmes, Dean-Emeritus of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, has been advocating federal aid to education. In his annual report for 1939-40 Dr. Holmes indicts American education because "our education is not nationally complete or even moderately suggestive of a national equality of opportunity", because it is locally controlled, often dominated by local politics. (8)

Forebodings as to the growing government control of education have been voiced by President Conant. In his 1938 report he expressed the belief that "during the next twenty years a large majority of the students will probably attend institutions supported largely by taxes and controlled by a state or municipality".

The "Increasing Government Control of Education and How It May Affect the University" leads F. R. B. Godolphin to ask, "Will Princeton become a state university?" and to anticipate "increased taxation and reduced income from endowment . . . even if we are not moving toward a national control of education under a cabinet minister". (*Princeton Alumni Weekly*, May 26, 1941)

"A fifty-year lag exists between the good and the poor schools of this country. . . . Politics is probably the chief obstacle to any change. . . . Our schools are typically textbook schools and the teacher is still a bricklayer." This is due to the persistence of "local initiative", which "may save us from some wastes", but "may deny us the fruits of freedom". "In this period of changing needs and growing understanding of educa-

tional practices", the "partial failure to stand the test may explain the flight to centralization of control". Paul R. Mort and Francis G. Cornell make these deductions in "American Schools in Transition", a study of "How Our Schools Adapt Their Practices to Changing Needs", with particular reference to the Pennsylvania colleges and high schools (Teachers College, 1941).

This slow process of centralization is not unattended with dangers, once the federal camel has its head under the educational tent. "Public education from the interest of the state is fundamentally social propaganda for the conditioning of the immature and the reconditioning of the mature to acceptance and belief in the patterns of the past as, subject to popular approval, they are retranslated in each generation by the executive personnel involved. He who controls the processes of public education will control the shape of things to come." (9)

Literally interpreting Moehlman,—the shape of things that have come, the present emergency, is due to the control of the processes of public education during preceding years. If there is the slightest truth in this, it is a subject that should be carefully investigated that we may better understand, and that is one of the chief purposes of what follows in this book.

"U. S. educators heard tough talk from their Government this week. . . . 600 leaders of the nation's schools and colleges were directed to train their pupils in military fundamentals from grade school to college", *Time* reports Sept. 7, 1942. "Manpowerman Paul V. McNutt curtly told them: 'There is no excuse for any young man or woman to be in college preparing for any profession not directly useful to the war effort.'

"Lieut. General Brehon B. Somervell told them the war might be won or lost in the schools. . . . 'It is the job of the schools and colleges to provide the opportunity for every youth to equip himself for a place in winning the war. You must do this regardless of cost, time, inconvenience, the temporary side-tracking of non-war objectives, or even the temporary scrapping of peace-time courses. . . . Every classroom is a citadel'."

In the ensuing months school and college people were to hear tougher talk as the Army and Navy took over private schools by purchase, leased facilities from the colleges, subsidized the universities for technological or war work. At M.I.T. by November some ten acres of floor space had been added in new buildings to carry on government contracts engaging a personnel of 1800, according to President Compton's annual report.

As the various services of Army and Navy competed for volunteers, undergraduate enrollment continued to drop. Small private colleges were having difficulty to figure out "how to escape bankruptcy. 'That's what makes our hair grey and our sleep light', says young President Carter Davidson of Knox College". By February 15, 1943, *Time* reported, "War has jigsawed and jumbled the traditional picture of U.S. higher education. Colleges find it is upsetting their finances, bollixing their standards, putting new strains on their faculties, bringing them new types of students, converting them into vocational schools and making them, like industry, into virtual subsidiaries of the Federal Government."

President Conant of Harvard has for some years acted as spokesman for the group of Harvard alumni who promoted and wrote the conscription law and later an act for the registration of women and who now advocate permanent conscription after the war of all youths at eighteen. For years Conant has pleaded for government scholarships in the universities. We had been reassured that 'these plans stand for democracy'. Early in 1943 we were assured 'the military have taken over', and hundreds of thousands were getting the equivalent of scholarships.

"The current month appears likely to mark something like a revolution in American 'higher education' as a result of the war", reported Harold Fleming (*Chr Sci Mon*, Feb. 16). Some 350,000 youths in uniform are to be sent to 281 selected colleges which Army and Navy will use for training. "The Manpower Commission will probably within a week announce a program for training up to 1,000,000 students in 1,700 junior and senior colleges for service in war industry and other essential occupations."

Early in February, Chicago's President Hutchins announced, "Institutions are supported to solve problems selected by the government and to train men and women selected by the government, in fields and by methods prescribed by the government, using a staff assembled in terms of requirements laid down by the government. . . . A government which has once discovered that universities can be used to solve immediate problems is likely to intensify the practice as its problems grow more serious."

NOTES

(1) The German Lutheran element, settling in New York as early as 1623, came from countries where public schools had long been under the control of the Lutheran Church. "Emphasis upon education, elementary as well as higher, was an inevitable and natural result of the fundamental principles of the Reformation".

The Bible was the word of God, and so "the ability to read the Scriptures became a necessity for the development of a Christian consciousness and life". (Walter H. Beck, "Lutheran Elementary Schools in the United States", Concordia, 1939)

Consequently Prussia and other German and Scandinavian countries which were Lutheran showed a high literacy from an early period. Prior to the World War, the illiteracy in these countries ranged from 0.02 to 0.2 percent; in the Netherlands, 0.8; in England, 1.8; in the United States, 6.1. "On the other hand, very high percentages of illiteracy were recorded for non-Protestant countries: Italy, 37.0; Spain, 45.8; Mexico, 70.7; Brazil, 85.2. Lutheran Finland had about 3 per cent illiteracy, while Russia in general had about 80 per cent."

"The Twilight of Friends' Schools", by James Forsythe in *The Friend*, Oct. 15, 1942 (304 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa., D. Elton Trueblood and Richard R. Wood editors), challenges the Friends' schools and especially their day schools "for their failure to express Quakerism more adequately to their hundreds of pupils who are not Friends" and for having lost their distinction and become conventional college preparatory schools. (From *Private School News*, Vol. 19, Nov., 1942)

(2) In the "Founding of the American Public School System: A History of Education in the United States" (Macmillan, 1940), Paul Monroe, Emeritus Professor of Education, Teachers College, makes clear in his statistical tables the causes of the discontent that brought to America those who wanted greater liberty, and of the impoverishment of those who had been deprived of their holdings by the "enclosures". Many, to obtain passage, arrived indentured for six or seven years. As wealth from the Indies came to a small class they acquired power and built great estates and deer parks, driving the people off the land. Before the new wealth came to England from overseas, the working man on his own patch of ground in his own community worked eight hours. Later with the development of the factory, his working time rose to sixteen hours a day.

(3) "The pressure of industry not only tended to degrade the wage-earners morally and physically but left no place for the education of the children. In 1825 a committee of the Massachusetts legislature engaged in investigating the opportunities of children for schooling was able to discover only two towns where the children between the ages of six and seventeen worked as few as eleven hours of steady labor a day; elsewhere the usual working hours were twelve and thirteen. Even when the time could be found, the children of the poor were everywhere excluded from attendance at the better schools.

"Although the principle of free, tax-supported schools had long been established in Massachusetts and most of New England, public schools were generally much less efficient than private schools, and Rhode Island had no public educational system whatever. In such states as New York and Pennsylvania, private schools were conducted for the children of the well-to-do, and such free schools as were maintained were regarded as dispensers of charity to paupers with all the odium attached thereto. . . . As summed up by the *Mechanics' Free Press* of Philadelphia in its issue of April 16, 1831, the program of labor comprised these leading demands: 'Universal education, abolition of chartered monopolies [in-

cluding the United States Bank], equal taxation, revision or abolition of the militia system,' " etc. (Arthur Meier Schlesinger, "New Viewpoints in American History", Macmillan, 1922)

(4) "A French statesman, Francois Guizot, who . . . in his youth, had applied his great intelligence to questions of pedagogy . . . could recognize the merits of Rabelais as an educationalist and teacher. In 1812, he wrote in an educational review . . . 'Rabelais recognized and pointed out the vices of the systems and methods of education in his day: at the beginning of the sixteenth century, he perceived almost everything of any sense and value in the works of the modern philosophers, amongst others, of Locke and Rousseau.' " (Anatole France, "Rabelais")

Rabelais, describing the early education of Gargantua, makes the Viceroy of Papefigosse say to Gargantua's father, "It were better for him to learne nothing at all, than to be taught such like books under such schoolmasters, because their knowledge was nothing but brutishness, and their wisdom but blunt foppish toyes, serving only to bastardize good and noble spirits and to corrupt all the flower of youth."

Gargantua is then provided with a new tutor. Anatole France goes on to paraphrase,—*"Ponocrates, who was an excellent educator, began by making his pupil forget everything that the old Sorbonnists, Tubal Holophernes and Jobelin Bride had taught him. For that purpose he purged him with hellebore.*

"Then he set him to such a course of study that not an hour of the day was lost." After waking at four in the morning, the lessons of the day before were reviewed while Gargantua was dressing, and the obscure points explained. Following tennis, rubbing down, they recited passages from the day's lesson while waiting for dinner. During the meal they listened to reading, and discoursed on the properties and virtues of everything that was served, with reference to the ancient writers. Through card games they discovered mathematical tricks. They designed geometrical figures. Singing, playing musical instruments, was followed by three hours of reading and writing, then recreation, riding, and the exercise of a warrior, hunting, swimming, collecting plants. Awaiting supper the lessons of the day were recapitulated, with learned and useful conversation. At night, after observing the position of the stars, as they had also done upon arising, they went to bed.

"When the weather was raining they exercised indoors. They amused themselves by trussing hay, splitting and sawing wood, threshing corn in the barn and, instead of herbarizing, they visited the various tradesmen, druggists, apothecaries, and even the mountebanks and quacksalvers, for Rabelais believed that something could be learned even from charlatans and jugglers.

"Those were days well filled and varied, with plenty of work and not too much fatigue. A wiser and better system of education cannot be conceived." (Anatole France, "Rabelais", Holt, 1929)

(5) Monroe observes that "the use of these lands and of the funds obtained from their sale has been far from judicious; at times and in some respects it is one of the most unhappy features of our record, a record marred, frequently by

inefficiency, at times by irregularity or dishonesty".

(6) "Nationalizing Tendencies" are more fully dealt with in the Handbook of Private Schools, 26th edition, 1941-42, pp 93-100, under the titles—"From Local to Federal,—Growing National Control,—A Time of Transition,—Adapting to Changing Needs,—A Confused Situation,—The Policies Commission,—The CCC, NYA, and AYC,—Vocation for Defense,—Compensating the Schools,—The Coming Totalitarianism,—Other Centralizing Tendencies".

(7) For "Educational Tendencies,—Centralization,—Wartime Pressures" consult the Handbook of Private Schools, 25th edition, 1940-41, pp 27-28.

(8) Charles H. Judd in the *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1942, writing soberly and drably on "Education", reminds us that during the thirties "the federal government stepped in and organized relief agencies, the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, which provided work and wages for unemployed youth. . . . The practice of paying with federal funds wages to pupils in high schools, to students in college, and to teachers in districts unable to provide schooling served as nothing ever had served before to show that education is a national interest. . . .

"As soon as the federal government took a hand in the care of unadjusted youth it came into contact with the educational system. . . . The clash of jurisdictions has become acute during recent years." But "some kind of program of a federal public works, is sure to be continued for a long time to supplement present-day education".

(9) Moehlman attracts attention to the dangers of increasing nationalization of education in "Popular Control of Education Is Vital to Democracy" in the *Nation's Schools*, Aug., 1942. "By way of practical illustration" he cites how "Commissioner Studebaker suppressed in 1934, at the request of Assistant Commissioner Wright, the damning Burdick-Scandrett report on the exploitation of 'apprentices' in the South under Smith-Hughes and Office of Education sanction. The outcome of this suppression was the demand by labor that the President investigate and the President's Advisory Committee (1936-1938) was the result. The entrenched vocational educator-politicians in control of this 'narrow specialized field . . . in which there is no background and tradition of local control' were strong enough to prevent the reforms in federally subsidized vocational education that the President's committee requested."

WAR PREDICTED BY THE WISE

There were many who foretold this second World War. Some saw in it a continuance of the first. Brought to a pause at Versailles, the process of readjustment to world changes was now to be continued. Our educators, with rare exceptions, understood very little of this, and yet it was they who were supposed to be preparing the new generation for the future. That's what they were hired for.

After we had fought the war and lost the peace, in the early twenties we resolved "Never again". But absorbed in our own affairs, we were oblivious to the dangers of creating lasting resentments among the frustrated peoples who were longing for an opportunity for aggression and revenge. And so we drifted into resumption of the war, the second episode of this great revolution.

To the intelligent observer with a modicum of knowledge of the world, it should have been apparent that the statesmen who were handling international affairs were often incompetent. It was inevitable that they should eventually come to the end of their diplomatic rope when they would have to call on the military to cut the knots they had tangled.

But to our educators, absorbed in their task of educating the young for what was to come, the war came as a surprise. They had even on the eve drunk their fill of the Lethean waters of platitudinous idealism. Restricted in outlook, parochial in vision, many in the academic chairs of learning still believed that the assassination of the Archduke of Austria at Sarajevo was the 'cause' of the last war.

Their pupils and alumni, fed on dead and useless scraps, had been conditioned to a distaste for serious reading, for forward-reaching thought, and lacked capacity to interpret the signs that were so ominously significant to the few. Absorbed in 'pass-times' as a reaction from the 'intellectual life', their enthusiasms were for golf scores and batting averages. The college cheer leader still could stir these feeble souls who worshipped the great American goddess Alma Mater and the great American god Bunk and William James' 'bitch-goddess' Success.

In the chancelleries of the great powers, the men who were directing affairs, who were responsible for what happened, who brought it about,

were perhaps as much surprised as the educators. In the excitement and confusion of the disaster, they exhibited a consciousness of guilt in attributing the blame to others, just as children, surprised by a sudden mishap for which they feel at fault, exclaim, "I didn't do it! It's his fault!" The Yale Institute of Human Relations in recent studies of children, of negroes under the caste system of the South, have made scientific researches into this phase of human behavior.

Statesmen, negroes, children, we all act alike. Someone else did it. In the last war it was the Kaiser who planned all the deviltry,—and it was at the Potsdam Conference according to Ambassador Morgenthau of Turkey. But this was later proved to be false by Sidney Fay in his "Origins of the World War" (1928). Speaking on "Germany and the Post-War Settlement" at Harvard, May 20, 1942, Fay said, "The fact that Germany lacked natural frontiers, stood in the central part of Europe, has partly compelled the Germans to be military and has developed in them a notion which I think is not sound, but they believe it, a notion that they are encircled and in continual danger on their east or their west front. And the Germans have suffered from an inferiority complex ever since the thirty years' war when their country was trampled upon, when it lost two-thirds of its population." With foresight Fay saw the possibility of preventing a third war. "I am glad at the thought that the Atlantic Charter went so far as to say that all nations, including Germany, that is, are to have free access to raw materials and to economic development. But the thing needs to be emphasized. We ought to do all that we can to counteract the Hitler propaganda that Germany is going to be annihilated if Germany is defeated and to counteract the writings of men like Vansittart in England."

After the first shock of surprise, there is a natural tendency to regard catastrophe as inevitable. That's characteristic of those who are unable to foresee and forefend. Rather than blame their blindness or stupidity, they put it all on Fate or Kismet.

Foresight, in man as in some other higher animals, is possible because of the structure of the nervous system. From early man we have inherited a brain, a cortex, as yet too little used. This, when it is used, makes it possible to plan future events and to bring them about. Without planning the wiring, we could not turn off the porch light from the second floor. The wires in our nervous system, from sensory apparatus to cortex to motor centers, have been so laid down for a million years. If the con-

nections are made, memory comes into play and it is possible to anticipate what will happen in the presence of a pictured future event. But with the mass of humanity, the apparatus lies idle. The battery is weak, the connections poor.

The biologist whose paleontological vision extends back over hundreds of millions of years, sees constant changes and readaptations going on in thousands of different species. Adjustment to changing conditions, geologic, climatic, which in turn involve competition with other species for food supply, results in success and continuance,—failure in any of them in death and extinction. And more species have ceased to exist than have survived.(1)

It is not strange then that there were men of vision who were both aware of the course of human events and could interpret their significance in relation to world changes. Early in this century it was apparent to some that failure to make essential adjustments had occasioned strain in the social structure. The strain was due to growing consciousness on the part of many that they were being subjected to unnecessary injustices, deprivations, and pressures. With enormously improved means of communication, resentments were being shared by more and more. Slowly the millions of exploited, tired of being 'pushed around', were awakening to the greed of the few who, at the expense of the many, had allocated to themselves power and all it brought. Deprived peoples, looking enviously upon the great exploiting empires, submitted to dictators to gain unity, and their growing strength threatened the long standing international relations. Behind this imposing phrase were the treaties attained through compulsion, deception or diplomatic chicanery, or to maintain the 'balance of power' by which those who had 'got there fustest' hung on to 'the mostest' and so continued inequitable division of the resources and wealth of the earth.(2)

The ships of state were seen sailing uncharted courses, through tortuous channels studded with dangerous reefs, wheels tied and steersmen dozing. Ignoring winds and currents, their pilots intent on loot or attentive only to commands from those who saw nothing of the dangers ahead, those ships of state are now piled up on the rocks of war. With alertness, the slightest pressure on the wheel, they might have evaded the rocks and made port.

In every age ancestral voices have been heard prophesying war. Intuition, even before the more exact observation which we call science, led

some men early to realize that the configuration of the earth, the outlines of continents, the placing of mountains and barriers, in conjunction with means of transport and communication, affect the behavior of men and influence the fate of peoples. Where there was no recognition of these relations, persistence in maintaining artificial and unadjusted conditions resulted in disaster. Far-seeing men knew that the mountain would not come to Mohammed, but they often lacked political influence.

Britannia's rule of the sea on which her Empire rests has met with many threats in recent decades. For a half century after Nelson destroyed Napoleon's fleet, there were none to question Britain's control. Her oaken bulwarks, the same frigates Nelson sailed, still protected her.

The conservatism of the British Admiralty, confident of their supremacy, constituted the greatest threat to Britain's seapower. Long they resisted the introduction of steam. They turned down Ericsson's screw propeller as unreliable, retaining their sidewheelers. When in 1859 France launched her first ironclad warship, it made the oaken frigates obsolete. And for some decades France's growing navy continued to be a threat to Britain.(3)

But when the Kaiser, influenced by Mahan's theories, began the building of the German Navy, the British saw in that the greater menace and entered upon an entente with the French. The extension of German colonies, the expansion of German trade, might be tolerated, but not the growing navy to protect these by domination of the seas. And so war was 'inevitable'.(4)

After the war, in the early twenties, America laid down keels to maintain her claim of parity with Britain on the sea. The British opposed and threatened. Wilson and Congress finally had to say in effect, "We'll go ahead and build a fleet that will outdo yours". It was then that Secretary of State Hughes brought about the Washington Naval Conference which resulted in our scrapping battleships already under construction.

Any threat to the trade on which Britain lives, to the control of the seas on which her income-yielding Empire floats, makes war 'inevitable' for Britain.

Those who steadfastly believed that the Pax Britannica had kept the world for a hundred years in tranquillity, saw no reason why that 'peace' should be broken.(5) There had been 'no wars' partly because the 'police' force of the British Empire, always ready, crushed any incipient move. The revolt of the Indian peoples against the East India Company

was heroically put down, the leaders blown from the mouths of cannon, and the incident put away on the history shelves neatly labeled "Sepoy rebellion".

When gold and diamonds were discovered in South Africa and the Boers resisted the looting of their wealth, it became necessary to dissolve their sovereignty. The Boer War was an unpleasant incident which somewhat tarnished imperialism, but the material reward justified it, particularly as the Boers were represented as a dirty, stupid, cruel people.(6)

Britain's "period of preponderance lasted until 1890", Brooks Adams reminds us in "The Decay of England", published in "America's Economic Supremacy" (Macmillan, 1900),—referring to the "readjustments . . . always . . . called revolutions", the last of which "spasms began in 1793 and ended with Waterloo".(7) This last of the great Adamases, whose special study was the decay of civilizations, looking back at Britain's record in the Boer War, contemptively wrote:

"For nearly a hundred years England has acted as the . . . balance wheel of the world; but if England is really losing her vitality, she can no longer be relied upon to perform that function, and until a new equilibrium can be attained each community must fight for itself in every corner of the globe. . . . War is the last and most crucial test of a nation's energy, and from the days of Cressy to those of Trafalgar, the English yielded to none in ferocity and obstinacy on the field of battle. The South African campaign has, on the contrary, throughout, been marked by inertia and feebleness."(8)

Kipling, the poet of imperialism, is not so generally recognized as the prophet of its downfall. The "Recessional" cast an ominous shadow over the Diamond Jubilee in 1897, celebrating Victoria's 70th year of reign, which marked perhaps the culmination of the glory of the British Empire. The very magnificence of the pageantry of the maharajahs and kings who walked in the train of the beloved old Queen gave pause to the thoughtful.

Forty-five years before Hong-Kong and Singapore, he wrote, "God of our fathers, known of old, Lord of our far-flung battleline, beneath whose awful Hand we hold Dominion over palm and pine—Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet, lest we forget—lest we forget! . . . Far-called our navies melt away; on dune and headland sinks the fire: Lo, all our pomp of yesterday is one with Nineveh and Tyre!"

Of the Boer War, Kipling wrote, "Let us admit it fairly, as a business

people should, we have had no end of a lesson: it will do us no end of good". And again later, "Ancient, effortless, ordered, cycle on cycle set, life so long untroubled, that ye who inherit forget. . . . But ye say 'It will mar our comfort'. Ye say 'It will minish our trade'. Do ye wait for the spattered shrapnel ere ye learn how a gun is laid?"

"But the only result of the poet's jeremiad was some loss of his own immense popularity", wrote Arthur Bryant, reviewing the British century in "English Saga (1840-1940)". (9) "Everybody read him but nobody paid the least heed to his preaching. For the English rich could not see what all the world but they could see: that their wealth created envy and jealousy, their empty empire greedy yearnings, their all pervading never-resting usury, anger and resentment. They could not see that other nations, impatiently seeking outlets for their rising manufactures and populations and armed to the teeth, were watching amid their jealousies a rich, obese and luxury-loving Britain as jackals watch a dying lion."

About the turn of the century it became apparent, as Brooks Adams remarked in 1900, that the "Germans and Americans, who were more diligent, succeeded where Englishmen failed. . . . Probably for two decades prior to 1899 Great Britain had not been upon a paying basis; her investments had been unfortunate, and her enormous adverse trade balance had eaten into her surplus accumulations. Each year the need of gold to pay creditors had grown more pressing, until at length, unconsciously to herself, and to Europe at large, the United Kingdom had drifted into a position similar to that of Spain in the early sixteenth century, when Spain, stimulated by precisely the same need for gold, exhausted first Mexico and Peru, and finally Flanders." (10)

While Britannia ruled the waves, Americans, except for periods of stress and irritation around 1810 and 1812, were nourished on the myth of 'freedom of the seas'. The Germans tactfully took advantage of it to send their merchant traders into every port of the seven seas. The British, secure in their trade monopolies, philanthropically and complacently looked on. But when they found the Germans were making inroads on their tropic trade, that their shipping and trading revenues were shrinking, they began to take notice of the upstarts. (11)

From 1910 to 1914 I was more under the British flag than the American. When I first made trips around the world, I naturally travelled on the P. & O. Economies incident to falling dividends were only too apparent; the passengers were under semi-naval discipline. Later I travelled

on the German lines, which catered for your custom so that you were treated as a guest.

It galled the British to find that world travelers had discovered the hospitality and better equipment of the German steamers and had deserted their 'bubble-and-squeak' and 'trifle' diet and stiff snobbery, in favor of the usurpers. Complacency and contempt began to give way to jealousy and hatred, accentuated by the braggadocio of Queen Victoria's nephew.

Something of this I explained in a letter published in *Time*, December 2, 1940,—“That is the trouble with the Germans—they work when others loaf. In ten years' travel around the world before War I, I saw lit up, until near midnight, the German offices in Hong Kong, Bangkok or Bombay. The British, already then largely Scotch, closed their offices at two or three for the races, later to sit around their clubs cursing the swine who were stealing their markets. Worse still, those damn Germans adapted the stuff they tried to sell to the natives' needs and desires. Such betrayal of European standards was just too much for the British merchants. So the Germans had to be knocked out and now we have got to do it again.”

On steamers between ports, for years before 1914 one repeatedly heard merchants going home and military men on leave say: “We've got to smash Germany while we can, before they steal all our trade, before they are ready for 'Der Tag'.” These were not the influential people who make policies. They were merely the people that manifest the general attitude on which policies are eventually based. German competition had cut dividends. And so we drifted into war and sacrificed and spent, attributing it all to the Kaiser.

It's not so long since kings and emperors personally parleyed and reviled each other and, when finally exasperated, led their forces into battle as did Henry VIII and Francis I. Later, autocrats appointed representatives to try to put across some trickery and when they failed, would announce to the world “my ambassador” had fruitlessly sought peace.

The policy makers of the democracies, as of the other great nations, work secretly. Foreign relations have long been considered too complicated, too subtle for commoners to understand. Secrecy gives time and opportunity to prepare releases, speeches, to present the proper face to the public. And any government must perforce protect itself from criticism or discovery of its blunders so far as possible.

For, however, wise and experienced may be the permanent staffs of the foreign offices, the policies formulated by them are frequently controlled by politicians whose skill is in winning electoral mandates.(12) Eventually involved in their own tangled web, frustrated, impatient, angry at their failure, filled with hate at their opponent who has 'done' them, it is inevitable that they should overstep themselves and come to a point of embarrassment where the less vocal fighting men have to be pushed forward.

"How Diplomats Make War" was first explained to us by Francis Neilson in 1915. As a Member of Parliament he had followed the secret workings of the British Foreign Office. He had seen them fail in their tricks, arrive at an impasse resulting in war.(13)

The French call this "diplomacy under arms", reminiscent of Clausewitz' classic "War is politics continued by other means".(14) In "The Inevitable War", 1915, Francis Delaisi, a French publicist, made it clear that "Diplomats . . . are the tools of the financial and industrial oligarchy and work to obtain for them foreign loans or foreign purchasers for their goods; the ambassadors in gold braid are today no more and no less than the agents of the banks and the great corporations. . . . The great European nations are governed by men of affairs. . . . They struggle for the control of the railways, loans, and mining concessions, etc. And if, perchance, two rivals camps cannot agree, they make an appeal to arms."(15)

England's statesmen, with all their inside knowledge and awareness of who was pulling the strings, were not always able to prognosticate when their bluff would be called, when their house of cards would collapse. Lord Cecil told the League of Nations, September 10, 1931, "There has scarcely ever been a period in the world's history when war seems less likely than it does at present".

A week after Lord Cecil's peace paeon, Japan invaded Manchuria. Four years later Italy was conquering Ethiopia. In 1936 Italy, Germany, and Russia were in conflict in Spain, and in 1937 Japan began the conquest of China. In 1938 Hitler took over Austria, and at Munich led Neville Chamberlain to believe that he had secured "peace in our time".

Just before war broke in 1939, Chamberlain, with faith and hope that the policy of the Foreign Office to embroil Russia and Hitler would turn German forces eastward, optimistically portrayed a five-year peace.

Sir Samuel Hoare, Home Secretary, March 10, 1939, told the world that "Five men in Europe—three dictators and the prime ministers of

England and France—if they worked with a singleness of purpose and unity of action, might in an incredibly short space of time transform the whole history of the world. These five men, working together in Europe, and blessed in their efforts by the President of the United States of America, might make themselves the eternal benefactors of the human race.” (N. Y. *Times*, March 12, 1919) It was the next day that Stalin turned all these plans sour by his speech ridiculing the Tory scheme to embroil Germany and the Soviets.

Nor are the insiders always well informed as to how resourceful the supposedly disarmed enemy may be in finding new methods for indulging in aggression. It “was greeted by howls of laughter as an excellent joke”, when Mr. Austin Hopkinson, the Thucydides of the last war, in the House of Commons in the fall of 1937, made “the surprising suggestion that the next war might not be fought by national armies at all, but by highly-professional technicians whose mastery of the complicated instruments of science would give them the same kind of monopoly in battle that was once enjoyed by the armoured knights of the Middle Age.” (Arthur Bryant, “Humanity in Politics”, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1938, p 353)

There were men, however, close to the heart of things, Balfour, Painleve, Benes, who dared to foretell the coming war. Winston Churchill in a moment of frankness ominously foresaw that “another great war would extinguish what is left of the civilization of the world, and the glory of Europe would sink for uncounted generations into the abyss”.

Neville Chamberlain in the summer of 1938, less than a month after he confided to a picked group of American correspondents that Britain had decided to sacrifice Czechoslovakia, said, “In war whichever side call itself the victor, there are no winners but all are losers”.

Lothian continuously warned of war, and in 1938 declared, “We are largely responsible for the situation that confronts us today. . . . If another war comes and the history of it is ever written, the dispassionate historian a hundred years hence will not say that Germany alone was responsible for it, even if she strikes the first blow, but that those who mismanaged the world between 1918 and 1937 had a large share of responsibility for it.”

The time of the coming of this second World War became a favorite guessing game with writers. As early as 1918 a Texas newspaper man, Eugene P. Lyle, Jr., in “The War of 1938” described “over England night-flying air fleets”, “American and British oversea dominions dis-

patching fleets hastily crowded with armed civilians to Egypt and India, the only possible fronts". In 1920 a novel, "The City of Endless Night", by Milo Hastings, foretold of great advances in Germany, changes in state control, in religion, of the vast labor crops, and racial theories. From the early twenties to the late thirties scores of books dealt with every aspect of the coming war.(16)

H. G. Wells, writing in 1933 as of fifty years later, in "The Shape of Things to Come" told of the coming of the war in January, 1940, and how the Germans, allied with Austria and Italy, overran Poland and Lithuania and raided the European cities, and then how from 1945 to 1947, after a period of epidemics and mutinies, came exhaustion. Then in 1955 and 1956 an obscure disease swept away millions. In the U. S. the government became insolvent, the federal authority faded, and small isolated republics were formed. It was not till 1978 that the Modern Staters formed the World Council.

Lloyd George, whose Cassandra prophecies of war at last came true, told the Commons in May, 1940, "I pointed out over and over again . . . that there would be trouble. My predictions, unfortunately, have turned out to be true, and when the history of the whole of these transactions comes to be written . . . [it will be found] that most of this trouble has originated in the fact that the victors in the late war did not carry out solemn pledges which they gave in a treaty which they themselves dictated. They had the opportunity. Germany was prostrate. The creation of this terrible power in Germany, the spirit which is behind it, and what makes it so formidable at the present moment is due to the fact that we did not carry out our pledges. . . . The solid promise that we gave . . . that if Germany disarmed, we should immediately follow her example, was not carried out, and there is no government that is more responsible for that than the present national government which came into power in 1931."

Lloyd George, who had worked with and outwitted President Wilson at Versailles, evidently had not forgotten Wilson's dire warning, "I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it."(17)

NOTES

- (1) "The rocks embalm a multitude of dead species which went not up but

down, and *out*. The way man goes depends on man's control of forces he is still struggling to understand." (Robert Cook, *New Republic*, Oct. 13, 1941)

(2) Pearl Buck, who has seen the world from the East as well as the West, told the Lawrenceville students in the spring of 1942, "The world has long been full of injustices and smoldering angers, rebellion, and revenges, so that it has needed only the first flame to set off a dozen wars". ("Men of Tomorrow: Nine Leaders Discuss the Problems of American Youth", Putnam, 1942)

(3) Arthur J. Marder in his "Anatomy of British Sea Power: A History of British Naval Policy in the Pre-Dreadnought Era, 1880-1905" (Knopf, 1940), throws light on the threats to Britain's sea supremacy and the growth of vested interests in naval construction with the coming of the steel ship and the explosive shell. "From Trafalgar to the ironclad era Britain's naval supremacy had rested on her overwhelming number of wooden ships, which had been serviceable for sixty and more years. . . . It was left for the Russian annihilation of the Turkish fleet at Sinope in 1853 to demonstrate conclusively the destructive effect of shell fire on wooden ships."

In "Sea Power in the Machine Age" (Princeton University Press, 1941), Bernard Brodie writes, "The French, stung by the effective demonstration of British superiority in steamer categories during the Baltic and Crimean campaigns, earnestly set about to convert their existing sailing ships. . . . As a result . . . in 1858 the Admiralty discovered to its great consternation that in effective steam line-of-battle ships the French were equal to the British in number, while in frigates the French had a clear superiority. . . . Intensifying the feeling among the British on that occasion was a growing concern over a new naval invention—the seagoing ironclad. . . . The *Gloire* . . . was launched in France in 1859."

(4) "In the course of a speech at Shanghai, June 11, 1901, Sir Edward Seymour, the China C.-in-C., used these prophetic words: 'The German Navy is a very rising thing, with which we shall have to answer some day, and let no Englishman makes a mistake about that. . . .

"The Admiralty was much slower than public opinion in responding to the growth of the German fleet. . . . Custance's comment was . . . the increase of the German navy would probably necessitate a corresponding increase by France and Russia. 'It is evident that we must be prepared for a corresponding increase on our part.'"

In 1910 Sir Eyre Crowe announced, "It is not merely or even principally the question of naval armaments which is the cause of the existing estrangement. The building of the German fleet is but one of the symptoms of the disease. It is the political ambitions of the German Government and nation which are the source of the mischief." The foregoing quotations are from Marder's "Anatomy of British Sea Power", pp 456-460.

That England's downfall and loss of empire is indirectly due to Mahan's doctrines, is the thesis of Captain Russell Grenfell, Royal Navy, in "Sea Power" (Doubleday, Doran, 1941). Mahan's books led Germany to build a fleet and in turn led England to build a Continental army by conscription. "Thus we have the

strange paradox that while the world's greatest military power was eagerly preparing to seek its further fortune on the water, the world's greatest sea power, alarmed at the menace of its neighbour's growing naval strategy, was working hard, under the guidance of a civilian foreign minister, to turn itself into a great land power."

(5) "From 1814 . . . until 1914, there was an era of unbroken peace . . . a Pax Britannica. . . . The British Empire maintained the peace and did so for the benefit of the Empire and for the good of the whole world, including, as it turned out, America." The speaker is Thomas W. Lamont, publicist and brains of J. P. Morgan and Company, British agents in America during the Great War. The occasion was an address on "The European Situation" before the National Economic League, December 12, 1938, presided over by Wendell L. Willkie, at that time acting as spearhead of the utilities' fight against the TVA.

"The Pax Britannica of the 19th Century was to India a tax britannica—and the tax was not on pax but on war. Lord Morley once said in the House that England had waged one hundred and eleven wars in the 19th Century which had not cost her a penny. Who paid for them? Ask the India Office." ("England Without India", Frances Gunther, *Common Sense*, Jan., 1943)

(6) Churchill, a participant in the Boer War, wrote in 1899, "The British military authorities found it necessary to clear whole districts of their inhabitants and gather the population into concentration camps. As the railways were continually cut, it was difficult to supply these camps with all necessities of life. Disease broke out and several thousands of women and children died."

J. C. Smuts reported to President Kruger in 1902 on British practices: "Lord Kitchener began to carry out in the two republics a policy distinguished by unheard-of barbarity and by disregard of the elemental principles of all martial law. . . . One of the questionable fighting methods the enemy employs against us is his mendacity. That is to say . . . his lying proclamations and announcements whereby he incessantly endeavored to confuse our people." Smuts protested against the "torturing, imprisoning and ill treating of women". T. St. John Gaffney, who quotes this report in "Breaking the Silence" (Liveright, 1930), reminds that "over 22,000 Boer women and children died in the English prison camps".

(7) The revolution against the papal authority, which we refer to as the wars of the Reformation, led to the excommunication of the English sovereign and a holy war declared against England. But the papal forces were so engaged in Central Europe that it gave opportunity for the daring English to raid the Spanish Main and beard the Spanish monarch. Loot from the Western World gave the English-speaking peoples opportunity and incentive. And since that time we English-speaking have had little difficulty in winning and holding control of the seas. We have held the world in the hollow of our hands.

(8) "England has no eternal enemies, only eternal interests", said Palmerston. Jerome Frank in "Save America First" (Harper, 1938), writes, "The policy of 'divide and rule' has forced the growth of rivals competing industrially with England and with one another—and has brought all Europe, including England,

to the edge of destruction. . . . It was not liberty that England sought—except incidentally and accidentally; it was continental anarchy.”

Fortune in an article “Great Britain’s Europe”, December, 1938, explains, “On the plane of fact Englishmen have had a dog-in-the-manger attitude toward the near-by Continent . . . dignified in the history books as the politics of balancing the power. Englishmen justify it by telling the world they are defending parliamentary government, racial equality, and free institutions. . . . To balance the power Englishmen will break their word or keep it, desert their friends or kill their enemies. If they can be moral in protecting their interests they prefer it, but if they must be Machiavellian they ‘carry on’ and find a ‘higher’ law to justify it. Sometimes the result has been tragedy for democracy, sometimes it has been tragedy for autocracy.”

Allan Nevins, in his “Henry White, Thirty Years of American Diplomacy”, relates the following conversation between Henry White, Theodore Roosevelt’s representative, and Balfour on the eve of the second Hague conference (1907) for the limitation of armaments:

Balfour (somewhat lightly): “We are probably fools not to find a reason for declaring war on Germany before she builds too many ships and takes away our trade.” White: “You are a very high-minded man in private life. How can you possibly contemplate anything so politically immoral as provoking a war against a harmless nation which has as good right to a navy as you have? If you wish to compete with German trade, work harder.” Balfour: “That would mean lowering our standard of living. Perhaps it would be simpler for us to have a war.” White: “I am shocked that you of all men should enunciate such principles.” Balfour (again lightly): “Is it a question of right or wrong? Maybe it is just a question of keeping our supremacy.” (Cf “Getting U S Into War”, pp 22-23)

(9) Arthur Bryant’s “English Saga” (Collins with Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1940), published in America by Harper (1941) as “Pageant of England” tells vividly the story of the rise and decline of imperialism from 1840 to 1940.

(10) Moreover, after a century of dominance of the peoples of the world, the English people had not profited much, Brooks Adams pointed out. Though “Americans are not frugal”, the total savings of the United Kingdom in 1898 were little more than the totals of New York state, and showed an average of \$136 for Americans, as against \$23.60 for British subjects.

Reviewing the campaigns of the Boer War, Adams finds that in the most severe defeat the British suffered, they lost less than 5% in killed and wounded, whereas the French in 1870 lost as high as 12% (at Gravelotte, 12%; at Vionville, 12%; at Sedan 12%), and the Germans at Vionville as high as 25%, while the Russians at Plevna lost 45%. Of 4800 in Pickett’s division at Gettysburg the Confederates sacrificed 3500 in their fatal charge.

“Viewed as a whole, the campaign in South Africa tends to confirm the German view, that English officers are incompetent because they are lazy and idle, and therefore ignorant; and that the English administration is antiquated, sluggish, and corrupt. . . . In truth, the disease lies at the core of British society, and until

that society is itself modified, the present standards must prevail. For example, English officers must be content to work as hard as German officers, and undergo as rigid a training; and English soldiers must be recruited from as high a class of the population as German soldiers, before the English army can hope to cope in action with such an adversary as Germany." (Brooks Adams, "America's Economic Supremacy", 1900, pp 149, 170-178)

(11) The London *Times*, August 3, 1914, discussing the encroachment of German trade on England's foreign markets, and her growing fleet, frankly stated, "We can no more tolerate a German hegemony in Europe than we can tolerate the hegemony of any other power".

In 1937 Norman Angell in "Defence of the Empire" wrote, "Before the War we saw that if the power of Germany grew much more she would be so preponderant that we should be deprived of all means of defending our rights. . . . We went on to add that the proper alternative was for Germany to be the weaker."

(12) The men of our own State Department are appointed by our elected president. Ambassadorships are often a reward for campaign contributions. Our diplomats are often good poker players, with ability to keep a straight face for deceptive purposes. But against the practiced and traditional political sense of those who for hundreds of years have controlled other peoples for their own advantage, the poker technique has oft proved inadequate. A practiced statesman or diplomat should be able to snub by lifting an eyebrow at the inquisitive, and to conceal his own ignorance by assuming the manifestations of a superiority complex. "The Riddle of the State Department" (Farrar & Rinehart, 1942) by Robert Bendiner attempts to realistically appraise the motives and the men who run the State Department.

(13) Francis Neilson, who now lives in Chicago and Green Lake, Wisconsin, has recently published two volumes in his "Diary of the Second World War" under the title "The Tragedy of Europe". The first volume (C. C. Nelson Publishing Company, Appleton, Wisconsin, 1940), with an introduction by President Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, carrying the story from September 1, 1939, to October 31, 1940, has gone into a third edition. The second volume (1942), with an introduction by Anton J. Carlson of the University of Chicago, carries the story from November, 1940, to December, 1941.

(14) "Everybody knows that wars are caused by political relations between governments and peoples; usually, however, they are regarded as connoting a situation under which—from the very outbreak of hostilities—these relations cease to exist, and where this new condition of affairs is subject only to its own specific laws. We say on the contrary, war is nothing but a continuation of policy by the use of different means." (Von Clausewitz, "Vom Kriege", quoted by Taracouzio, "War and Peace in Soviet Diplomacy", Macmillan, 1940). Clausewitz' memorandum to his king, Frederick William III, "The Most Important Principles For The Conduct Of War To Complete My Course Of Instruction Of His Royal Highness The Crown Prince", was completed while he was on his way to join the army of the Czar against Napoleon. A translation of this has been published by

the Military Service Publishing Company, Harrisburg, Pa., 1942. The English Maj.-Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, who has in his many books and writings of the past twenty-five years so accurately forecast the development and movements of the present war, makes extensive quotation from the "Principles" of Clausewitz in his latest volume, "Machine Warfare: An Enquiry into the Influences of Mechanics on the Art of War" (Hutchinson, Ltd., 1942).

Max Nordau in "The Interpretation of History" (Moffat, Yard, 1911) declares the diplomat "is the menace for war, amicably disguised. It is his duty to spy out the intentions and armaments of neighbouring powers, to aggrandize his own State at the expense of those that seem to him weaker, and enforce his demands on them by the threat of war. . . . Diplomacy, in its nature and origin as much an instrument of war as an army, is a military development on the line of least resistance. Its object is to obtain satisfaction for the selfishness and greed of the State by the mere spoken or silent indication of the existence of force, without recourse to the sword. It would never have been needed had each State remained within its own limits, and demanded nothing of others except on the basis of mutual exchange.

(15) "The financial coterie which are carrying on their machinations in the dens of the chancelleries is not large, but it has a most powerful ally: the popular ignorance. . . . To hinder the financiers from playing with the public opinion, the people must be awakened, shaken out of their heavy sleep. And above all front must be made against the preachers of peace, who lull it into a false security." (Delaisi, "The Inevitable War", Small, Maynard & Co., 1915)

Marquis W. Childs in "They Hate Roosevelt" in *Harpers*, condensed in *Reader's Digest*, July, 1936, forecast "A major war would serve, of course, as it did for Wilson [cf Josephson's "The President Makers"], to dissolve the fury. But nothing less than that would reconcile Mr. Roosevelt's enemies to his presence in the White House."

Elting E. Morison in "Admiral Sims and the Modern American Navy" (Houghton Mifflin, 1942) relates that Sims' reading of Admiral Consett's "The Triumph of Unarmed Forces" and other books about the origins of the war "tarnished his belief in both the good faith and the competence of the statesmen who had precipitated the conflict". Sims wrote to a trustee who had asked for his picture to hang in the school library beside President Wilson's,— "You express your intention of trying to secure a picture of ex-President Wilson for the same purpose. You designate him as one of the great leaders of the World War. As I was one of those who had the experience and anguish of seeing the lives of men uselessly sacrificed on account of what I believe to have been the actions of this man, I do not feel disposed to have my picture in the same gallery."

(16) "The Origin of the Next War" by John Bakeless appeared in 1926; "That Next War?", 1929; "War Again Tomorrow", 1931; "The Second World War", 1934; and "The Coming World War", 1935. (Cf *Saturday Review of Literature*, Feb. 1, 1941). "Can Europe Keep the Peace?" (Harpers, 1931) asked Frank H. Simonds, reporter, sophisticate, realist, who had seen so much of war

and diplomacy. His answer was an emphatic "No".

Sir Arnold Wilson in "More Thoughts and Talks: The Diary and Scrap-book of a Member of Parliament from September 1937 to August 1939" (Right Book Club, London, 1939) reminds us, "The 'Yellow Peril' was but a phrase when Emperor William first warned Europe what barbarians armed with all the resources of western technique might bring upon the twentieth century. It is a reality in the Far East today: it as yet means little to the New World: it may mean much to India, the Near East, Africa, and above all to Europe. No effort, and almost no sacrifice, is too great to reunite what was once called Christendom against it or, at least, to prevent a war which would leave the West helpless against the East."

(17) Such prophetic words from Woodrow Wilson were put down in the Harding period of 'normalcy' to 'pique and bitterness'. It was not until on the eve of his eighty-sixth birthday, late in December 1942, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation published a volume entitled "Wilson's Ideals" from which this is quoted.

In one of Wilson's last speeches at St. Louis, Sept. 25, 1919, before he was stricken, quoted by Josephus Daniels, his Secretary of the Navy who recently published "The Life of Woodrow Wilson", he again warned, "Boys, I told you before you went across the seas that this was a war against wars, and I did my best to fulfill the promise, but I am obliged to come to you in mortification and shame and say I have not been able to fulfill the promise. You are betrayed. You fought for something you did not get. . . . There will come sometime, in the vengeful providence of God, another struggle in which, not a few hundred thousand fine men from America will have to die, but as many millions as are necessary to accomplish the final freedom of the peoples of the world."

In his speech in Kansas City after the war, seeking support for the League of Nations, Wilson asserted, "Is there any man here, or any woman . . . is there any child here, who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? The real reason that the war we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some of the nations went into the war was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. . . . This war, in its inception, was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war."

CONFUSED EDUCATORS

These foretellings and forebodings fell on the deafened ears of those who were guiding youth in our schools and colleges. Teachers of history, current events, and international relations remained dumb. At the portent of what was oncoming they had put up their mental shutters, as if to prove the truth of the self-protective reflection so often voiced by academic historians,—“We learn from history that we do not learn from history”. Cautiously they were not taking risks of getting in wrong with the great financial powers then pyramiding their paper wealth.

The dereliction of our educators and leaders in not making their charges aware of the inevitable, left the educated majority, the most fully informed people in the world, uninformed or misinformed as to what was coming. And so they found themselves unexpectedly again carried by the onrushing tide of events into the maelstrom of war.

Great expectations followed the first World War. Reconstruction was in the air. The veterans returned to America, as to England, intent on building a brave new world. Wilson's words of eloquence had aroused the people to a mighty effort to bring democracy to all the world and justice to oppressed peoples. These ends we had accepted. Our lives and our billions we had given. We hadn't begrudged our resources. And we had turned the scale and won the war.

The first flush of enthusiasm quickly passed, as disillusionment came. They had found no “land fit for heroes”. Starved, neglected, they marched on Washington, and a scared president called out the army, who burned their miserable encampment.

Our educators, like the majority of the people, came to believe that the war had been an unprofitable venture, that future embroilment in European affairs was something to be avoided. The whole attitude of the American people was well summed up in the single phrase “Never again”.

Though among the university faculties the old hates smoldered through the twenties, a few brave spirits like Sidney Fay and Harry Barnes, sheltered by President Neilson of Smith, led the slender group of revisionists who disclosed the hypocrisy of the Versailles Treaty.

Under the tent of ‘normalcy’ the federal domain became one for plun-

der and graft. The certitudes of the past had been swept away and the effervescent post war enthusiasms became the stale ale of the morning after. Little wonder that in the educational world our leaders were groping blind and goalless. There was something wrong with their intellectual digestion. Speakers at educational meetings gave evidence of halitosis, of a dark brown taste on their tongues. Idealists among them dealt in high sounding generalities which from their lips fell with a tinkling clatter. Introspectionists among them comforted themselves with abstractions in an endeavor to satisfy their wishful thobblings.

With so many unemployed, how to use leisure became the problem of the day. Strong men of seminal mind like Culbertson gave their time and talent to the promotion of diversions like bridge. The great mass of the people, bewildered and without faith, turned to pastimes. Diversion and play kept people from inquiring and knowing.

Panem et circenses those in control provided. Baseball heroes were bought and sold like gladiators to keep the throngs enthralled. Five millions a year were spent to afford facilities for overfed men to chase golf balls. The contrast of conspicuous spending and impoverished child labor led Sarah Cleghorne to poetize, "The golf links lie so near the mill, that almost every day, the laboring children can look out, and see the men at play".

Pampered youth and spoiled plutocrats drove their cars to maim 1,320,000 a year on our roads, to kill 24,000 a year, 480 a week, 'occasions for the undertaker, now become mortician'. Of the abuse of the motor car Stuart Chase said, "The most powerful thing we possess is thus a plaything". 'Flaming youth' wasted its vitality. The 'lost generation' was aimless, hopeless, disillusioned, vaguely apprehensive.

Alma Mater, cohabiting with Mammon, was worshipped and sacrificed to. The annual football ritual alone absorbed \$50 millions. The youth of the land derived their greatest thrill from the appeals of their cheer leaders.

Education became the largest industry in the country.(1) School officials and college professors were retained by the utilities and financial institutions to rewrite textbooks and lectures to serve their concealed purposes. Those who accepted this role gained prestige and profit. The great philanthropic and educational foundations distributed their favors, subsidies, and pensions to maintain the new system, the new culture. Those inclined to peer beneath the surface lost out. Teachers remained

unconsciously aware that it pays to be 'good'. The greater number nevertheless had a subconscious feeling of frustration.

Then came the breakdown of 1929 with its intellectual as well as economic let-down. The New Deal hopeful idealists and the fear-ful conservative look-backers divided the nation into bitter partisans. Confusion and conflict, marked in state and international affairs, gave evidence of birth pangs. But for the anticipated arrival neither Hitler nor Hull could find a better name than "the new order".

During the thirties a strange, little understood and much misapprehended confusion overspread the educational world. Conflicting pronouncements as to the purposes and ends of education betrayed the muddled state of mind of pedologists. Idealists among them comforted themselves with abstractions in an endeavor to satisfy their lack of certitude.

Some, dubbing themselves 'Progressives', surrendered to the child mind for guidance. Others, wearing the somber mantle of 'Essentialists', saw only evil in practices with which they were not familiar, and called up the ghosts of the past for comfort. While some sought to "build up the blue dome of air", others laughed at their own cenotaph and out of the caverns of despair "like a ghost from the tomb", girded themselves to "unbuild it again". And so, as usual, the idealists were thwarted by the dead hand of the past.

"In our great universities, most of the scholars had settled down with their collection of absolutes and eternal verities. Now that they found them challenged, they saw in the world only confusion." (2)

Little wonder that educators confused and cautious, ran hither and yon seeking the shelter of security or prestige. Commencement pronouncements, inaugurals, educational journals became more confusedly platitudinous as we advanced in the thirties, while the rank and file became complacently and chronically apathetic or confused.

"The most striking fact about higher learning in America is the confusion that besets it. . . . The wildness, the hysteria, the confusion of the modern world result largely from the loss of what has been done and thought by earlier ages."

Such was the cry of alarm with which President Hutchins of Chicago was filling the air of the educational world in the middle thirties. Perhaps the most alert and progressive and enlightened of college presidents, he had made his university a place of inspiration to students. And yet the "disunity, discord, disorder" were what he saw in the situation of Ameri-

can education. "Our bewilderment has resulted from our notion that salvation depends on information", he elucidated. Well, we have depended on ignorance, lack of information, for some millenia.(3)

Hutchins dogmatically moaned, "The truth is everywhere the same. Hence education should be everywhere the same." That would mean the same mental pabulum, heedless of resulting cerebral indigestion, for the Russian mujik, for President Roosevelt, for the Kalahari Bushman or Mortimer Adler. This reflects the confusion that may have resulted from close association with an upside-down mind, a legalist become a meta-physician.

Hutchins "would make the classics the core of education. . . . While purporting to be a follower of Aristotle, he does so through the reflective eyes of St. Thomas, whereas Aristotle the Platonist could accept the theory of the master but he looked long on life and nature and established his universals on the basis of his own observations, not on shadows."(4)

The Athenians of Plato's time, who lived a parasitic life on slave labor, spoke of all other people as 'barbaroi'. They regarded traders and artisans with contempt. In Book I of "The Laws", Plato wrote, "We call one man educated and another uneducated although the uneducated man may sometimes be very well educated indeed in the calling of a sea captain or of a trader or the like. But we are not speaking of education in that narrow sense. We are speaking of that other education which makes a man eagerly pursue the ideal of perfect citizenship." To Plato the captain's mastery of the art of navigation was something meritorious, but his abilities and the person himself were not in the same class with him and the cerebrations in which he indulged without the degrading use of his hands.

Though Aristotle did handle and classify the objects of his studies, even the slimy sea animals, Plato, like the scholars all through the Middle Ages, would have regarded the use of his hands as beneath his dignity.

For a thousand years scholastics engaged in futile cerebration, without much knowledge of reality. It was these scholarly pursuits that brought prestige and preferment. It was the student who could achieve success in linguistics who won the prizes that church or state had to offer. Their lily white hands were uncalledous by contact with the rough surfaces that craftsmen and artisans dealt with, unstained by the reagents that alchemists and technologists used, uncontaminated with dissections of the slimy denizens of the sea. They looked with contempt upon these, who magni-

fied their own egos by devising better methods and inventing instruments of greater accuracy.

From this underclass of contemptibles came, by gradual improvement of their methods, surveying, navigation, dissection, the use of the microscope. The artisan, improving his quantitative methods, reducing his percentage error, became the scientist. The barber-chirurgien, refining his charlatanry, became the man of medicine. The astrologer, concerned with the movements of the planets, became the astronomer. The use of the hands in connection with the cortex had brought man from the ape upward.(5) Now, keeping the medievalist in touch with reality, it enabled him to check upon his deceptive senses by measurement, to arrive at more accurate comparisons, safer generalizations. Thus from the artisan and the craftsman came the scientific method, which has broadened our views and raised our standard of living, while scholastics and metaphysicians continue to spin cobwebs within their skulls without intimate knowledge of the outer world.

For men like Hutchins and Adler, whose palms are unroughened and whose fingers are unsoiled by contacts in the laboratory or the workshop, but who still are obliged to live in a world of mechanical invention and gadgetry, who look out through the eyes of a parasitic Athenian like Plato upon a world such as Plato could not imagine, there is an incongruity that results in confusion.(6)

"There is confusion of aims in higher education, running all the way from the 'intellectualism' of President Robert M. Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, to the 'holoism'(7) of President W. H. Cowley, of Hamilton College", remarked Professor Edgar W. Knight, educational satirist of the University of North Carolina, in *School and Society*, Nov. 23, 1940.

President Cowley, to whom Knight refers, declares, "We are bewildered, Mr. Hutchins suggests, because our information remains 'large chunks of data, undigested, unrelated, and meaningless'. It is meaningless, in the words of Matthew Arnold, because it is 'unsatisfying, wearying', and it is unsatisfying and wearying because 'we experience, as we go on learning and knowing, the need of relating what we have learned and know to the sense we have in us for conduct. . . '. In a word, if learning is to be significant, it must be related to an individual's purposes."(8)

"The greatest obscurity, vagueness, and confusion reigns" in psychology, because of "the neglect by philosophy and psychology of the study

of purposes, of the springs of human action", Cowley goes on to say, referring to McDougall's "Social Psychology". "This vagueness and confusion is largely responsible, holoists assert, for the jumbled state of modern education."

In "Philosophic Bases of Confusion in Higher Education", *Educational Record*, April, 1941, Donald Faulkner, mathematician and astronomer, outlines nine characteristic 'philosophies' of education "which are generalizations from theories", and discusses the conflict and confusion that arise from the attempt to apply two or more simultaneously. "The appearance of efficiency and purpose presented by the modern American university does not survive long acquaintance or close analysis. Cross purposes and conflicting practices betray the lack of any general agreement on the aims of university education, on the best methods of attaining these goals, or—for that matter—on the nature of the educational process."

Ingenious as may be this classification of theories to justify ends, it ignores the realistic fact that the dominant group determines the purpose and the conflict of groups or forces produces the consequent confusion. But then, in academic circles pure intellect is supposed to prevail. Acts are supposed to come out of theories and philosophies. It is not recognized that the latter are the excuses or screens behind which powerful personalities act.

The student who has adopted his future alma mater, assured that he will be treated as an individual, finds the professors, Faulkner says, "preach democratic theories in a matrix of practices often as oligarchic or dictatorial as the Spartan or Nazi states".

As popular comprehension spread during the late thirties that another war was brewing in Europe, the spokesmen for American opinion everywhere voiced the feeling or conviction that this was something we should keep out of. Our President took the lead in this in his Chautauqua speech, and right up to the outbreak the purpose of all his measures was to "keep us out of war".(9)

With the outbreak of war and its spread throughout Europe it became apparent to some that leaders in our financial centers were exploiting events to embroil us. The presidents of the great universities were enlisted and brought along their faculties, while the undergraduates still lagged. This rapid reversal, this inconsistency to all they had been teaching for a decade, this right about face from the "Never again" attitude,

brought further confusion to the educational world.(10)

The people as a whole, suspicious of the type of propaganda that they believed had brought them into the last war, and this time somewhat less susceptible, were only through the greatest subtlety in making "the small decisions of each day" brought step by step nearer to participation. It was necessary to use every refinement of the arts of controlled communication, for which enormously greater appropriations than ever before were provided. But it was little known that Great Britain's annual appropriations for bringing about the program outlined by Captain Rogerson in his "Propaganda in the Next War" (Geoffrey Bles, 1938) increased from 1935 to 1938 three times. Academic historians refused to consider such matters. Their attitude was well expressed by Samuel Eliot Morison who told Lawrenceville students in May, 1942, "With a contemptible self-pity we declared we had been duped into the war by British propaganda and Wall Street slickers" ("Men of Tomorrow", Putnam, 1942).

Divorced from reality, living on things of the spirit, an unsubstantial food, our scholars suddenly became aware of change and that their ideologies and idealistic temples were crashing about them. Where they thought all was settled because they had made comfortable little nests or spun cocoons for protection from the outer world, now all was confusion, worse confounded.

The ways of nature are not logical, not even consistent. Logic dwells only in the human skull. Growth is not consistent. It is confusion, irregular in the same individual, in different individuals. Only within a few decades have we begun to accumulate scientific data on the growth of children, for example. The more rapid growth or adjustment, the more apparent the disorderly confusion.

"The fact of confusion is not itself bad. For the truth is that a static society is a fiction. What we need to fear is that confusion may remain unrecognized, that we may find refuge in the illusion of an unchanging culture, or feel incapable of finding our own way out of confusion and turn to dictatorial leadership", we are told by a Progressive Education committee.(11)

"We look to education, in short, to make the culture aware of itself in order that its essential values may be made the more effective. Education in a democratic culture must sense more clearly its obligation to free the individual and the culture alike from the domination of hysterical leaders, authoritarian values, fragmentary ideals and the inertia of ignor-

ance. . . . A tremendous social lag is responsible for much human misery. We are like the man who drives with his eye on the mirror while a truck hits him head-on."

Wherever there is a high state of activity, each individual intent on his own job, in an ant hill, a shipyard, a beehive, or a progressive school, wherever many adjustments must be made quickly, there is bound to be apparent confusion.

The confusion of one lost in the forest or in a fog, of one who has lost all sense of direction, is wholly different from the apparent confusion of the busy shipyard. In the latter case the confusion is in the mind of the observer. Each worker knows exactly what he is doing and is going at it in the shortest possible way. It was all blueprinted far in advance and he is following the blueprint.

In education confusion of both types is no new thing.(12) In the so called progressive school the confusion may be that of the shipyard. In the old type school with its straight rows of desks and silent pupils, the confusion may be within the skulls of the teacher and pupils.

In the face of change, confusion is normal. Have you ever stood before an aquarium tank and watched a school of small fishes swimming calmly and in orderly array? A sudden thrust or knock on the glass,—they change direction, and all is confusion.

Men, as well as other organisms, suddenly thrown into activity from a static state, or changing direction, requiring quick adjustment, are confused. Such a situation has brought disaster not only to the great armies but to what would otherwise be peaceful communities.

Confusion is a stage in the process of readjustment, from one static stage to another. Our difficulties arise from the idea that a static state may be permanent, and our consequent resistance to the process of inevitable continuous growth and change,—the dynamic character of life.

NOTES

(1) "The greatest industry in the United States engages the full time of from a quarter to a third of the whole population and absorbs two billion of the national income. *Time*, June 20, 1938, calls it our 'biggest and most bullish activity.' . . . In no other country, at no other time, has any one industry engaged so large a portion of the population except in countries that are almost purely agricultural or among peoples that are nomadic. . . .

"An industry, the Century dictionary tells us, is 'a particular branch of work',

and Webster 'any department or branch of art, occupation, or business; especially, one which employs much labor and capital.' The term 'industry' has been much used in newspaper headlines, as a camouflage for financial capitalism, the game in which productive industrial plants are used as pawns. Any industry necessitates capital investment in plant, machinery and wages, and a supply of raw material. It turns out a certain proportion of finished product, some culls and damaged goods and a residue of scrap and waste. An industry like brick making is an activity which employs a proportion of the population in localities where the raw material is available, and puts the clay through a process by hand or machine method to produce bricks needed by the community." (Cf *Handbook of Private Schools*, 23d edition, 1938-39, pp 141-150)

"Now the chemical factory deals with raw materials and with processes. So, too, does the educational factory. . . . Our colleges and universities have a combined income that is roughly comparable with the income of our chemical industries, but on really basic research of the kind I have indicated they probably spend less than one three-hundredth as much." Still both industries must find new and better ways of doing things in order to survive. "The future of the industry will obviously depend upon the secrets that can be wrested from nature." (Cf Lewis M. Terman, "The Gifted Student and His Academic Environment", *School and Society*, Jan. 21, 1939)

(2) From "What's Ahead in Higher Education?" by Porter Sargent, *Journal of Higher Education*, June, 1941, which continues, "The hysteria of fear that has overcome our universities has blown in from the financial centers and from the chancelleries. There the custodians and administrators of great fortunes and great privilege sit in the seat of the fearful. They look with terror and assumed sophisticated scorn on those who would advocate change or who would excuse or explain it. So our universities, dependent upon the crumbs that fall from the tables of great fortunes or upon the bounty and good will of legislators, have become haunts of timidity and caution. . . . What we need is bold men who will put into execution their dreams. There must be courage to go lean and hungry if need be, to break loose from stupid financial control and to carry on such grand discarded projects as outlined by Conant." (Cf "How Universities Are Controlled")

Of a symposium of twenty-six academic scholars on "War as a Social Institution" (Columbia University Press, 1941), the reviewer in the September, 1942, issue of the *Journal of Educational Sociology* (E. George Payne, editor) comments:

"The sections dealing with the vast array of casual factors related to war shed little light, and when put together make little sense in interpreting the present world scene. If the book does one thing it impresses upon the reader the helplessness with which even the men of learning survey the present world debacle. Perhaps the most pressing need of the intellectual today is for some scholar to arise among us who can take our microscopic studies and put them into a configuration which will make sense and give a feeling of direction. Much more water may have to pass over and under the bridge before social change convinces us of the degree to which our sacred concepts of the past have become outmoded and makes

us think in new channels."

(3) A few years before he became president of the University of Chicago, at the age of thirty, Hutchins had looked at the world fearlessly, declaring "My view of university training is to unsettle the minds of young men, to widen their horizons, to inflame their intellects". He has since come to face a world in the chaos of widespread war, standing foursquare to the prevailing winds from Wall Street, Washington and Whitehall, and to challenge fearlessly misleaders of the nation.

(4) From "Plato, Buddha, and President Hutchins", *Harper's*, June, 1941, by James Marshall, former President of the Board of Education of New York City, son of the famous and brilliant Jewish jurist, Louis Marshall. He goes on to say: "When the first great rush of abstract thinking was over, after Aristotle had summed up all that was known of man and nature (perhaps all that could be known without the willingness of thinkers to make manual effort), thought was devoted to piling untried fantasy on untried fantasy until its heights were reached in realms of mysticism. . . .

"The ideal perfection of citizenship, which had at least a class basis in Plato, became in Plotinus, a philosopher of the third century, a perfection to be achieved through contemplation of the Good; and in early Christian thought, by way of Plotinus, it became a faith in God and participation in the congregation of Christendom, where for centuries education was only something for the clergy and the court. . . . The great mass of believers were offered such education as was thought necessary to give them that faith which would cause them eagerly to pursue the ideal perfection of citizenship in the City of God. This education consisted of the learning of a few responses in order to participate in religious observances. Their trades they learned from their fathers or as apprentices. The elect, those who ruled from altar and throne, were taught to read and figure and sing. In England, as late as the 13th century, a man could escape the death penalty if he could read."

"In the period from 1300 to 1600 three strata of intellectual activity must be distinguished: university scholars, humanists, and artisans. Both university scholars and humanists were rationally trained. Their methods, however, were determined by their professional conditions and differed substantially from the methods of science. Both professors and humanistic literati distinguished liberal from mechanical arts and despised manual labor, experimentation, and dissection.

"Craftsmen were the pioneers of casual thinking in this period. Certain groups of superior manual laborers (artist-engineers, surgeons, the makers of nautical and musical instruments, surveyors, navigators, gunners) experimented, dissected, and used quantitative methods. The measuring instruments of the navigators, surveyors, and gunners were the forerunners of the later physical instruments. The craftsmen, however, lacked methodical intellectual training. Thus the two components of the scientific method were separated by a social barrier: logical training was reserved for upper-class scholars; experimentation, casual interest, and quantitative method were left to more or less plebeian artisans.

"Science was born when, with the progress of technology, the experimental

method eventually overcame the social prejudice against manual labor and was adopted by rationally trained scholars. This was accomplished about 1600 (Gilbert, Galileo, Bacon). At the same time the scholastic method of disputation and the humanistic ideal of individual glory were superseded by the ideals of control of nature and advancement of learning through scientific co-operation. In a somewhat different way, sociologically, modern astronomy developed." (Editorial Abstract of "The Sociological Roots of Science" by Edgar Zilsel, *American Journal of Sociology*, Jan., 1942)

(5) Man, 'supreme' among the mammals, is in some ways primitive. The hand of man is that of the frog. Primitive amphibians of this four fingered and thumbbed type developed in the carboniferous, a hundred million years ago. That hand has been distorted and diverted into unrecognizable forms in the bird's wing, in the horse's foot. But in those animals that took to the trees, like the opossums, the tree shrews, the hand with opposable thumb became especially useful for grasping, and, when monkeys descended from trees, for picking up stones and sticks.

Recently discovered in Malayan jungles are living fossils, insectivorous primates, ancestors of the higher primates. "The Living Dead", Erich M. Schlaikjer, paleontologist and geologist, *Natural History*, March, 1938, tells about these little rat-like patriarchs, the living images of our forefathers, that scampered about on the ground 140 million years ago, during the time of the dinosaur gangster dictators. With changed conditions, mountains where there were lowlands, arid country where there were marshes, the great overspecialized reptiles could not readapt themselves and became extinct.

But these insignificant little placentals, insectivores, primitive mammals, instead of laying eggs like the dinosaurs, produced their young alive and perhaps fed on the eggs of dinosaurs. Alert and adaptable, they flourished. Some of them took to the trees, and adapted their five fingered hand for grasping, became the ancestors of the lemurs and all the monkeys and apes, while other descendants, giving up the hand for rapid locomotion on their toes, became horses, deer, antelope.

With the use of the hand, the simian brain developed and the eyes rotated forward, giving us stereoscopic vision. To our hands, more than any other one factor, we owe our brains. (Cf "Human Affairs: 1938" by Porter Sargent, pp 139-40)

(6) Plato or Aristotle might not have been controlled by the "Greek tradition of social respectability which left handicrafts to slaves", if they had had the telescope at their disposal or "the flexible powers of electricity at hand. . . . No such excuse is available to Hutchins, any more than it is to the British aristocracy which fed the young of its ruling group for centuries on classics and ruled with one eye on the feudal system. . . .

"The breakdown of . . . the monopoly held for so many centuries by the traditional liberal arts . . . parallels (ex post facto, it is true) the breakdown of the monopoly of social and political control by church and aristocracy, and the monopoly of scientific knowledge by church and university—it parallels the division of labor, the disappearance of feudalism, and the passing of static society. . . .

"The old school could carry on a verbalistic program, it could limit its field

principally to words, with little danger of engendering a schism between the world of books and the world of experience which goes beyond books. . . . Schools today must approach education differently than the old schools did, differently even than the schools of half a generation ago did, if they are to fulfill the needs of modern society. . . . Neither science nor democracy can find release in the paternal protection of certainties." (James Marshall, *Harper's*, June, 1941)

(7) 'Holoism' is not to be confused with J. C. Smuts 'Holism' (cf Smuts "Holism and Evolution", Macmillan, 1926), though both tend in the same direction, as do Gestalt psychology, "scientific humanism", and Reiser's "global" thinking (cf Oliver L. Reiser, "The Promise of Scientific Humanism", *Piest*, 1940).

Cowley's "holoism", he tells us, is "the philosophy of education 'which asserts that the school and the college must be interested in the emotional, moral, religious, social, aesthetic, and physical development of students . . . in brief . . . with the whole student in relationship to the whole of society. . . . Holoism . . . stresses the prime importance of purpose and asserts that the purposive or motivation concept must dominate education. An individual is a Self, the Self is a whole, and the Self is purposeful. . . . Holoists . . . deplore the failure of educators to arouse in students the energies that gush forth from purposes. They assert that youth is ripe for challenge, that youth craves causes to support, jobs to be done, evils to combat. They point out that Hitler has succeeded in marshaling German youth not by promising them soft lives but by offering them something for which to work and fight and suffer and sacrifice and die." (W. H. Cowley, "An Outline of an Educational Philosophy", pp 101, 149)

(8) From "An Outline of an Educational Philosophy", in Volume II of the Hamilton College Survey, Clinton, N. Y., May, 1940, a statement to the Board and Faculty by President W. H. Cowley, who quotes from Alfred North Whitehead's "Aims of Education and Other Essays" (Macmillan, 1929):

"In the schools of antiquity philosophers aspired to impart wisdom. In modern colleges our humble aim is to teach subjects. The drop from the divine wisdom, which was the goal of the ancients, to text-book knowledge of subjects, which is achieved by the moderns, marks an educational failure, sustained through the ages." Ridiculing the "fatal, erroneous, and dangerous conception" of the possibility of 'sharpening the mind', as though it were a steel instrument, Whitehead reminds us, "The mind is never passive; it is a perpetual activity, delicate, receptive, responsive to stimulus. You cannot postpone its life until you have sharpened it. Whatever interest attaches to your subject-matter must evoke here and now; whatever powers you are strengthening in the pupil, must be exercised here and now; whatever possibilities of mental life your teaching should impart, must be exhibited here and now. That is the golden rule of education, and a very difficult rule to follow."

From "The Nature of Intelligence" (Harcourt, 1924), L. L. Thurstone is quoted by Cowley. "I suggest that we dethrone the stimulus. . . . The real ruler of the domain which psychology studies is the individual and his motives, desires, wants, ambitions, cravings, aspirations. The stimulus is merely the more or less

accidental fact in the environment and it becomes a stimulus only when it serves as a tool for somebody's purposes. . . . Mental life consists primarily in the approximate formation of the motives leading toward overt expression. . . . When we are studying human nature, either in the laboratory or in our daily lives, it is much more conducive to psychological insight to look for the satisfactions that people seek through their conduct than to judge them as merely responding to a more or less fortuitous environment."

(9) Opening the campaign for his second term, at Chautauqua in August, 1936, the President won the confidence and votes of the nation by declaring, "If war should break out again in another continent, let us not blink the fact that we would find thousands of Americans who would be tempted for the sake of fool's gold to break down or evade our neutrality. . . . To resist the clamor of that greed, if war should come, would require the unswerving support of all Americans who love peace." (Cf "Getting U S Into War", Porter Sargent, 1941)

(10) Hutchins presented a "Blueprint for Wartime Education" in the *Sat Eve Post*, Aug. 15, 1942. "The universities and colleges of the United States are now instrumentalities of total war. . . . The confusion in the higher learning is further confounded" by the present appeal to undergraduates to volunteer. Hutchins urges that all volunteering be abolished, the draft age lowered to eighteen, two years of college with military training provided for all, rich or poor, who can profit by it.

"Secretary of War Stimson told U. S. colleges that the Army had decided to take every able-bodied college man as soon as he reached draft age, even reservists who had been excused from active duty to continue their studies. . . . At Brown . . . President Henry Wriston denounced . . . 'There have been almost as many "errors growing out of procrastinations, indecisions, conflicts of authority, clashes of personalities, lack of understanding" in this matter as in the case of rubber. What is the remedy? It is the same remedy that is now being tardily applied to the rubber problem—a single coherent policy.' . . .

"Undergraduates . . . are under a dizzy recruiting barrage by . . . Army, Navy and Marine reserve units, War Manpower Commission, war industry. . . . Enlistments have been spotty, ranging from 75% of the undergraduates at Yale to 6% at N. Y. U. . . .

"Secretary Stimson, riled by the criticisms of Brown's Wriston et al., retorted last week: 'My statement . . . has been interpreted in some quarters to mean the end of all higher education for the duration of the war. This is a misapprehension. . . . It is hoped that colleges will maintain their training of students in engineering, medicine and other sciences.' Liberal arts colleges were more alarmed than ever." (*Time*, Sept. 28, 1942)

(11) "The Effects of a Confused Culture", Section III of a report drawn up by a committee of educators on "Progressive Education, Its Philosophy and Challenge" (Progressive Education Yearbook Supplement, *Progressive Education*, May, 1941).

The statement quoted is perhaps the most significant in the report of these edu-

cators, most of whose conclusions, clothed in the characteristic language of the pedagogue, one can see are the result of compromise in committee discussion. But a few paragraphs stand out unmutated as shaped in the individual mind.

Without awareness of "the social changes that force breaks with traditional ways of living and that open new possibilities for the future . . . increasing psychological conflicts will develop because people try to live according to obsolete values and are at a loss to know what they can aim at or can hope for in a world whose changes bewilder them. . . .

"Most people, brought up in the acceptance of traditional values and realizing, only very inadequately, what is taking place in the world in which they are living, are at a loss to know what to make of the now-conflicting social philosophies. They realize that industrial development is not leading to the kind of general well-being and international harmony which they were led to suppose it would, and yet they cannot see a way out of the dilemma."

(12) Aristotle was confused as to the purpose of education, whether it should be for the culture of the intellect or the development of character. Tutor of Alexander, compiler of encyclopedic knowledge, philosopher extraordinary, in his "Politics" he reported that there is "no agreement as to what the young should learn, either with a view to the production of goodness or the best life . . . no certainty whether education should be a training in what is merely useful as a means of livelihood, or in what tends to promote goodness, or in disciplinary studies". Perhaps Aristotle's uncertainty was because he sensed that he came at the end of an era. Like the tin-pan-alley song writers of today, perhaps he knew subconsciously "There'll be some changes made".

RETREAT TO THE PAST

In the face of defeat, retreat is dictated. When lost in fog on the mountain, caution prescribes that we retrace our steps to familiar landmarks. When the trail markings become faint, when we are confused and cannot see ahead, when danger increases and courage ebbs, the impulse is to turn back toward security and safety. (1)

And it is those who lack vitality or the spirit of adventure who first seek safety in retreat. Such timorous souls need a supply of thiamin, the courage vitamin, and lacking that deserve sympathy from those of sterner fiber who find joy in facing danger. Don't waste pity on those who are on the frontier. They know the exhilaration of the conqueror of the unknown, of the mountain climber who stands on the topmost summit, who returns to look upon the fat, contented valley folk with something of contempt.

In "Moses and Monotheism" (Hogarth Press, 1939), Freud has told us something of Moses' difficulties in leading the Israelites out of bondage. The confusion he dealt with was worse than that today. The promises of a land flowing with milk and honey were less to the timid Israelites than the fleshpots of Egyptian security and servitude and the temptations of the Canaanite villagers who worship Baal. Today a Moses is needed to lead us out of this present confusion. We need an Aaron who can smite the rock reality and bring forth a lifegiving stream. (2)

Mortimer Adler is so confused that he would have us return to Monte Cassino to St. Thomas Aquinas, that brave soul who interpreted Plato to the confused people of his time. Adler complains that "scientists, philosophers, and theologians . . . have no common universe of discourse" because they don't have what he calls a 'liberal education' and don't speak the language of medievalists. Adler, lacking laboratory training, doesn't understand scientific language. (3)

What it amounts to is this: if you are conditioned, educated, processed, for metaphysics, then that will be right for you. If on the other hand you are trained and conditioned in the scientific method, that will be right for you. That is, we can make man as we want him, but after he is made it is difficult to remake him. If you are conditioned not to use your senses

but only to use your brain, then you speak a language not comprehensible to those conditioned to use their senses. So those who are metaphysical or theoretical have difficulty communicating with or understanding those who are realistic or naturalistic.

In the medieval university all, trained the same way, spoke the same language. "Embraced in a common tradition of learning, they could at least understand one another when they did not agree". The diversity that developed within the University of Paris would have been painful to Adler. He would have been one of the persecutors of Abelard. What's wrong with the world is that we don't teach boys great quantities of Latin and Greek as they did two generations ago and so the universities have degenerated. "Its underpinning removed by failures in preparatory education the college gave up the ghost of its liberal arts curriculum, retaining only the name of the degree".(4)

In contrast to these Jeremiahs are the mental sybarites, the bored sophisticates who, veneered with culture and wearing a mantle of erudition, raise a supercilious eyebrow as they look upon more earnest souls. These find pleasure in exploring and questing among the convolutions of their own cerebra. They need but little in the way of data from the outside world to start these lucubrations in which they are so practised. Their stylistic output is highly polished. A single half understood observation or a phrase from those on the frontiers will start a stream of rationalization.

From frustrated Spain comes a cultivated gentleman, learned in unessential things, whose beautiful prose is having much influence among some of our cultured people of little vision,—Jose Ortega y Gasset, whose latest production "Toward a Philosophy of History" (Norton, 1941), is made up of detached essays for a projected larger work. Ortega is troubled about man and like an impatient child wants quick answers to all his questions. He must know first causes and is a bit contemptuous of those who dally around the immediate or the intermediate, "remaining on a plane of secondary problems, leaving intact the ultimate and decisive questions". There are still many, but a lesser proportion than in the past, who have the same impatience that the whole truth be revealed completely and their security permanently established.(5)

So there are eddies in the backwaters, and when the tide is running fast the maelstroms of confusion, the strength of the undertow, are more marked. But those who mistake these agitations for main currents may

find themselves stranded on the mud flats and the mud flats of today will be the hard rocks of tomorrow where future man may find these defeatists and ritualists preserved as fossils.

This reversion to medieval theology and metaphysics, if it is to be effective, must necessarily be accompanied by a concerted attack on the modern scientific attitude. One phase of this is to cast doubt on the whole process of change. The changing conceptions of the process of evolution as we learn more about how it comes about have offered opportunity to these critics.

Darwin's idea as popularized seemed degrading to those who had preened themselves as children of God. They reverted to the attitude of the theologians who deemed it nobler to have been fashioned of mud than to have had tree-living ancestors.

Those who would thus turn our minds backward, appeal to many of shrewder tendencies who can better accomplish their purposes when backs are turned. After the last war there came a turning backward, a resurgence of fundamentalism throughout the Bible belt. Following the famous monkey trial in Tennessee, Bryan carrying the banner, the teaching of evolution was "forbidden in approximately two-thirds of the rural districts of the Union" before 1926 and "thirty-seven bills against the teaching of the theory of evolution were introduced in nearly half of the American state legislatures" before 1929.

The depression chastened the spirit of the fundamentalists. Then the approach of the present war brought need of turning men's minds back to the moral and religious and one phase of this has been the drive among the intellectuals against Darwinism. A few years ago it became fashionable to belittle Darwin by suppression, ridicule and attacks, cautious at first. Now we have a broadside fired at all that's more modern than the middle 19th century.

In "Darwin, Marx, Wagner" (Little, Brown, 1941), Jacques Barzun sets forth the idea that this war is the result of the teachings of one Englishman and two Germans. *Time*, June 16, 1941, gives this book three pages but saves itself by closing, "It is all very convincing if a little too neat. Every war has to have its ideological devils. In World War I, Nietzsche and Schopenhauer were elected. This time, it seems a first-rate scientist and a first-rate musician are to be blamed equally with a class-conscious revolutionist."

In the crudities of World War I we banished Wagner and all German

composers and performers from our music programs. In the war for democracy today, with great tolerance and magnanimity, fighting in the war for morality and civilization, our propagandists carefully explain how Wagner is the source of all evil. (6)

Barzun, looking for scapegoats, finds them in the three greatest men of the 19th century, the makers of the 20th. The popular demand for scapegoats at this time made his book possible. Here are three men of heroic stature, heroes to intellectuals, inspirers of thought and activity, bringers of hope. But Barzun has discovered for himself that these three men were human, not superhuman, and he is not satisfied with the human. He seems to feel an animus against those who take away the supernatural. He doesn't state it frankly. It's all part of the trend away from the common sense, scientific way of looking at things, back into the fog of confusion, the smoke screen against reality that so many in these times of change create, resort to, or find comfort in.

Barzun's work is notable as the most polished recent attack on the modern scientific method, comforting to those who tend toward medieval supernaturalism. It climaxes the more insidious undermining begun by Geoffrey West to whom he pays tribute: "The gladiatorial conception of the struggle for existence was there to stay, and as Mr. West justly says, harking back to old Sedgwick and his complaint about neglecting the moral and metaphysical part of man: 'He leapt . . . right to the heart of the matter in a prophetic passage whose insight should be the more apparent now, when the increasing brutalisation and degradation of humanity are no more to be denied than detached from conceptions of evolution and natural selection.'"

Geoffrey West's "Charles Darwin: A Portrait", was published in 1938 (Yale), and was dedicated to his mother, Helen Rebecca Wells. For some years he had been secretary to H. G. Wells and so to "prevent confusion" he uses "West" as his writing name. It would be interesting to know how it happened that a man of no scientific training, with little knowledge of biology, should have been given the opportunity to make his protracted study of Charles Darwin, and how it came about that this book was promoted and praised by the reviewers in most of the standard publications. Mr. West might write a beautiful and sympathetic life of St. Francis of Assisi, but he is no man to understand Charles Darwin, nor even Thomas Aquinas.

Mr. West-Wells is a condescending young man. He concludes his

book, "I must confess to a very great liking for Charles Darwin the man, in himself, in his life, in his family circle, and even in his labours detached from their worser social consequences; and finally it is to the man rather than to his scientific achievement as a thing in itself that I would look for his enduring value." Such high praise from Mr. Wells' former secretary, even though tempered by frank recognition of the "worser consequences" of his work, is something.

His book purports to be a frank sympathetic biography of a great man. The approach is insidious and proceeds to sabotage Darwin's great work. Silly is his praise and sideswipe,—“He deserves all credit for his patience and his honesty in that process, but it is absurd to suppose that he had . . . no determining leanings”. . . . Licking his chops, West quotes Spengler, the German pessimist, “How superficial, how glib, how mechanistic the conception with which the science of the Darwinian age worked”.

In his final chapter entitled “The Fragmentary Man”, West reveals himself completely. Darwin's modesty, human weaknesses and hesitations under physical handicaps and illness are piteously exploited. Because of his human imperfections Darwin reveals only fragmentary truth. Mr. West, like the medievalists, wants the whole truth revealed with authority.

Listen to his condescending snobbishness, “As a scientific method adequately applied, Darwinism has worked well and fruitfully”. For West, evolution is a theory that was once proposed of something that had taken place. He has no understanding as has the biologist Jennings, that “life is transforming now as it has transformed in the past”, that “the processes of transformation are now under observation in hundreds of laboratories of genetics. And life is bound to continue this transformation in the future. The universe is not finished, it is still in the making”.

Barzun takes undue credit to himself for having discovered that we have learned much about genetics since Darwin's time, much of it thanks to the impetus Darwin gave us. He blusters, “Darwin was not a thinker and he did not originate the ideas that he used”. Misunderstanding the modesty and the thoroughness of Darwin's scientific method, Barzun declares, “He vacillated, added, retracted, and confused his own traces”. (7) It is almost pathetic to see Adler rushing to the defense of Darwin. “Professor Barzun to the contrary”, he tells us, “the concept of evolution legitimately changed men's fundamental views”. What made it legitimate? (*Harpers*, Sept., 1941)

Darwin would never have had the data from which to generalize his theory had it not been for the opportunities afforded by his "Voyage on the Beagle" round the world. Wallace about the same time in the Dutch East Indies arrived at similar conclusions. Neither was particularly familiar with the paleontological record which reveals the long-continued story of changes life has undergone under changing conditions and on the other hand the static qualities of life where conditions are unchanging as in the ocean depths where there are no currents, light, or temperature changes.

Darwin, the accurate observer, inert to the significance of words as he was to the sounds of music, unfortunately entitled his great epoch making work "The Origin of Species" yet it did not treat of an "origin" but rather the survival of variations. As Julian Huxley remarks, "If Darwin were alive today, the title of his book would have to be not the 'Origin', but the 'Origins of Species'. For perhaps the most salient single fact that has emerged from recent studies is that species may arise in a number of quite distinct ways." (8)

So one may refer now not to the theory of evolution but to the "theories of evolution" as does Dr. Sewall Wright, Professor of Zoology, University of Chicago, in reviewing R. Goldschmidt's book "The Material Basis of Evolution" (Yale University Press, 1940) in the August, 1941, *Scientific Monthly*. This is, according to the author, an "inquiry into the types of hereditary differences which might possibly be used in evolution to produce the great differences between groups". (9)

The decline of general interest in evolution gives these backtrackers without biological training, opportunity to have their say. Generally accepted, there is little in the current popular prints on the topic. "What has become of evolution? You don't publish articles about it any more", a subscriber writes to the *Scientific American*, October, 1941, which editorially replies, "Several readers have asked this question. Some 15 years ago the subject was at white heat, and everybody expected it to remain so. Anti-evolutionists predicted that evolution would be banned everywhere, and scientists trembled for fear they were correct. . . . The dispute is practically dead. . . . Opponents evidently sense that they are fighting a retreating battle."

There is no question about evolution among scientists, though there is a difference of opinion as to how it operates and particularly as to the relative weight to give various factors which have brought about the

change which we see everywhere going on, through the paleontological ages. The Psalmist sang, "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday". If he were singing today after the modern revelations of the paleontologists, he would be a bit more extravagant in his imagery. Evolution in going on for hundreds of millions of years in hundreds of billions of individuals became a complicated process. This afforded opportunity for individual variation and the development of many new species. These are colossal understatements.

Philosophers have spent their lives mulling over the words and thoughts put down by other men who seldom went outside their studies. Those in control of our political and international affairs, our statesmen and national leaders, have been trained in the most rigidly traditional schools where knowledge imparted is limited to that which is supposed to be eternal and never changing (Cf " 'Reforming' Static Education"). Our teachers in the pulpit and on the dais have been disciplined in lore and precepts that they are proud is thousands of years old. All these have little conception of the volume of tested biological observation nor of the long continued story the paleontologists have revealed. With their limited vision and information it is remarkable that even some of them should have accepted the concept of evolution.

But the most astonishing thing is that so many men and women who have followed the thought of these philosophers, who have their ideas from such leaders, who have been stultified by the meaningless drill and disciplines in our schools, whose observations have been so largely restricted to printed pages which deal with such short periods of time,—in spite of all this have some glimmerings of the processes of nature (though the prescribed activities to which they have been rigidly held in the course of education has so completely shut them off from observation or contact with nature) and pay at least lip service to belief in evolution or take it for granted.

It is natural enough that Henry Luce, whose father was a missionary and teacher in China and who, through his publications reaches thirty or forty million Americans, and is intent on establishing a new "American Century", should have afforded opportunity for some of the leading philosophers to hold forth on their conception of the world. William Ernest Hocking and Willard L. Sperry of Harvard, Columbia's William Pepperell Montague, and the French Scholastic Jacques Maritain in *Fortune's* pages exhibited their atavistic tendencies carried over from a theo-

logical age, assuming that "religion and science are separate realms, that the truth of God and the truth of the scientific world are complementary" at best (*Time*, Dec. 14, 1942).

Their beautifully phrased, well meaning, idealistic effusions went unchallenged,—until Huxley, Julian, half brother of Aldous, grandsons of Thomas, Darwin's great interpreter, asked for opportunity to take issue. "The Biologist Looks at Man" was the title (*Fortune*, Dec., 1942) under which Huxley tactfully endeavored to explain a simpler and more satisfying mode of thought. He recognized the "apparent dilemma between two conflicting modes of thought". The traditional one carries over from the ancient world the idea of absolutes, "all deriving from an absolute of absolutes, which is God". This earlier mode of thought is dependent upon revelation to a primitive tribe. It provided the best explanation possible for the observed phenomena so little understood. The other method of thought has been built up gradually based on tested observations, which has resulted in the much more detailed and comprehensive revelations, through the biological and paleontological record, of the marvels and wonders of God's creation.

"The scientific method . . . subjects the conclusions of reason [our cerebrations] to the arbitrament of hard fact [to tested and adjusted observations] to build an increasing body of tested knowledge." Those who follow the scientific method do not "ask questions that cannot be answered". They reject the answers that rely on former revelation from supposedly supernatural sources. They endeavor to discover "the relatedness of all things in the universe", not merely of the planets but of every "organism to its environment", of human cultures to the conditions under which they were shaped. They attempt to understand how things have been in the past, how they came to be as they are. "Stars and scenery have their history, alike with plant species or human institutions, and nothing is intelligible without some knowledge of its past." (10)

Huxley is no mere writer or theorist. His grasp of biological phenomena is overwhelming, as is shown in the separately printed volume documenting his British Association address on evolutionary progress. In this he clarions: "The time is ripe for a rapid advance in our understanding of evolution. Genetics, developmental physiology, ecology, systematics, paleontology, cytology, mathematical analysis, have all provided new facts or new tools of research: the need to-day is for concerted attack and synthesis." (11)

Again he comes to the charge in the Winter, 1943, issue of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*. In "Darwinism To-Day" he makes clear, "The fact that evolution has occurred was never seriously questioned after 1859". Of the theory of natural selection, however, "about 1890 doubts began to be thrown upon it, and around 1910 it had become so unfashionable that some critics proclaimed the death of Darwinism".

This was due to misunderstanding of the new genetics and mutation. "In the last twenty-five years, however, many new facts about evolution and heredity have been discovered, and the balance has now swung over heavily and, I think, permanently, in favour of Darwinism. . . . In certain respects, indeed, modern evolutionary theory is more Darwinian than Darwin was himself. . . . To-day, we . . . can demonstrate that Natural Selection is omnipresent and virtually the only guiding agency in evolution." The remarkable thing is that with the "meagre body of knowledge at his disposal", Darwin's "genius was able to put evolution on the map".

There are many types of evolution, most of which have led to extinction. The "rarer type of change is evolutionary progress, which" raises "the upper level attained by life in respect of certain very general properties: greater control; greater independence; greater harmony of construction; greater capacity for knowledge (and, we may probably add, for emotion). More concretely, it has permitted the rise of a succession of what the biologist calls dominant groups, because they spread and evolve rapidly, cause the extinction of many representatives of other groups. . . . The last three dominant groups in life's history have been the reptiles, the mammals, and man. . . .

"If we define progress strictly as capacity for unlimited further avoidance of dead ends, there has only been one progressive line in the whole of evolution—that which has led in its later stages through fish, amphibian, reptile, and mammal to man. . . .

"The implications for man . . . are . . . far-reaching. The idea of a past Golden Age vanished into smoke; so did all static conceptions of human life. In their place we see inevitable change and possible progress, while at the same time the time-span of the human drama is enlarged a thousand-fold in the past and still more in the future."

So there is little comfort in retreat. It merely leads to eventual extinction. True, it is following examples of the past, but not of your ancestors or you wouldn't be here. If you are a real stand-patter and don't want

to see change, there is only one place where life can continue to exist, that is in the company of the Lingula deep down in the sea.(12)

But there are men unscared, who will not retreat or take the brass check. Lyman Bryson, forum leader, popular adult educator, cries out for a new balance and proportion in our thought and brings new fire to our way of thinking and our present problems in "The New Prometheus" (Macmillan, 1941). He recognizes the need of "the fire of critical, scientific thinking", of a "wider diffusion" of the "scientific attitude of mind", of capacity to think "scientifically, dispassionately, freely as against authority and humbly before the facts".

He would "renew once more the oldest, most hopeless, and most glorious of teaching tasks, to help men learn from science, not from passion. . . . The quality men most lack now and most need now is this questioning clarity of thought." He would help the "average intelligent man" to use the scientific method in his thinking, and though this is not to be immediately hoped for on a large scale he affirms "that there is at least a fringe of native capacity in the school population, a fringe of boys and girls who can learn to think. . . . Blind reliance on authority is . . . the very antithesis of open-eyed self inquiry and investigation." Bryson is all for "knowledge that disclaims authority and asks you to test conclusions for yourself, that makes no boast of getting at any ultimate 'reality' at all".

Our problems are merely milestones marking our advance from unconscious ignorance to awareness and understanding. With awareness we can detect and suppress abuses that are ruining, destroying, and undermining not merely institutions but men. Were it not for panders, professors, and preachers who would have us retreat, we might be released from stultification and frustration to fight for, not against, to go forward, not back.

NOTES

(1) Those illustrious intellectuals who have followed the back track in these years of change make a long list. Mortimer Adler symbolizes one group of back-trackers. And T. S. Eliot has led a procession back to the bosom of the Church. His mental processes are analyzed by Yvor Winters in the *Kenyon Review*, Winter and Spring issues, 1941.

Dorothy Thompson finds comfort in astrology. In her recent sketches of three great men of the world, "Roosevelt, Churchill and Hitler" (*Look*, Jan. 14, 1941) she gives the constellation under which each was born. Churchill is "the bright star . . . a child of Sagittarius, the archer".

War always turns minds backward. For thousands of years women in distress and men in extremity have knelt before the shrine of the Goddess of Mercy. From Japan to Ireland they have knelt and prayed to her as Kwannon or the Blessed Virgin. Of such nostalgic fearful souls who want to go back the Irishman Shaw said, "We are afraid to look life straight in the face and see in it, not the fulfilment of a moral law or of the deductions of reason, but the satisfaction of a passion in us of which we can give no account whatever". (G. B. Shaw, "Sanity of Art", p 65)

(2) Freud in his "Moses", p 115, recognized the pull of the past as particularly strong in a time of confusion. "As often as mankind is dissatisfied with its present—and that happens often enough—it harks back to the past and hopes at last to win belief in the never-forgotten dream of a Golden Age. Probably man still stands under the magic spell of his childhood, which a not unbiassed memory presents to him as a time of unalloyed bliss. Incomplete and dim memories of the past, which we call tradition, are a great incentive to the artist, for he is free to fill in the gaps in the memories according to the behests of his imagination and to form after his own purpose the image of the time he has undertaken to reproduce."

(2) Mortimer Adler has long been the enfant terrible, the 'quiz kid' of New York and Chicago. "Between the ages of thirteen and fifteen he was secretary to Edward Page Mitchell, Editor of the New York *Sun*, and wrote editorial copy for the *Sun*. . . ." He is married, his two children adopted. He first came into national prominence by writing "Diagrammatics", which was illustrated by the wife of President Hutchins. Since then he has proved a hardy perennial in *Harpers* and on the lecture programs. His books range from abstruse abstraction to easy platitude. His "How to Read a Book" lent itself readily to the parodies "How to Read Two Books" and Ivor A. Richards' "How to Read a Page".

In "The Chicago School", *Harpers*, September, 1941, Adler describes the growth of the school of thought of President Harper, John Dewey and others, presenting factual historical matter that is well arranged. He finds the Chicago School of thought tainted with heresy. "At its very center . . . was a hard core of negations and exclusions. The denial of metaphysics and theology as independent of empirical science, the denial of stability in the universe and certainty in human knowledge, the denial of moral values transcending adaptation to environment and escaping relativity to time and place, the denial of intellectual discipline in education and of the light shed by an abiding tradition of learning, the denial of a personal God, self revealed, and of a Divine Providence concerned with man's supernatural salvation. . . . The misfortune, for which Chicago . . . can be blamed, arises from the over-emphasis, the exclusions, the 'nothing-but' fallacy." This reads like a 17th century New England Puritan, but it is Adler, not Hitler, in the year 1941.

The contribution to medieval thought made by Aquinas, whom Adler would acknowledge master, as stated by C. DeLisle Burns in "The Horizon of Experience" (Allen & Unwin, 1933), was to reconcile Aristotelian "reason" with "re-

vealed truth" to produce Scholasticism. "If reason was Aristotle, 'revelation' was largely Plotinus and Philo. . . . The Trinity and the Eucharist were 'truths'. . . . This tradition was reconciled with 'reason'. The inclusion of the two kinds of data, taken together, in one philosophy by Aquinas, was never regarded by all the medieval leaders of Christendom as adequate. . . . Aquinas was too good an Aristotelian: and his proofs of the existence of God were frankly proofs of the existence of a First Cause and a Prime Mover—with regard to which he says, without proof, that 'this is what we call God'. But that was precisely what was doubtful. Others said that the Aristotelian Prime Mover was by no means the Christian God."

(4) Like Walter Lippmann, whom he quotes, Adler wants to stay the process of change. But Lippmann is even more of a Jeremiah, crying that "The prevailing education is destined, if it continues, to destroy Western civilization, and is in fact destroying it." Education has indeed greatly modified Western civilization and will modify it further. Lippmann and Adler want to stay the process of change. That's their function in the present social set-up, and because of that they have support from certain sources.

Lippmann's address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 29, 1940 (*American Scholar*, Spring, 1941), which received lavish praise, is a brief but bitter indictment touching upon many of the sore spots in our educational practices,—an easy thing to do. Smoothly and beautifully expressed, it leads the reader or auditor along into the mental grooves of Lippmann.

Lippmann's "thesis", which he considers "a sweeping indictment" is that "during the past . . . fifty years those . . . responsible for education have . . . removed from the curriculum of studies the Western culture which produced the modern democratic state [there is no statement of what was removed; Greek, grammar, parsing, rhetoric have been, we know]. . . . The schools and colleges have . . . been sending out into the world men who no longer understand the creative principle of the society in which they must live [what the principle is and how it is creative is not explained]. . . . Deprived of their cultural tradition . . . Western men no longer possess . . . the values or the . . . wisdom which are the genius of the development of Western civilization".

(5) For Ortega science like truth is an entity but of a lesser specific gravity than mythology, one gathers from his remark "Scientific truth floats in a medium of mythology". He has, of course, little understanding that science is something we vaguely apply to the body of information, discovered and classified, which has not yet been proved false by the refinements of the scientific method.

This scientific method or attitude is merely a phase of human behavior or human reaction to the world which has always been used by men close to reality, by the hunter or the cultivator, but was repudiated during the period of rationalism by those who held that truth came only of God who revealed it to man through his chosen agents, the Pope or the Puritan divine. But this scientific method in its later refinements has brought increasingly important results and promises of still greater.

Style, facility of expression and aptitude make the writing of Ortega plausible

and pleasurable if one can read without rousing his critical faculties. He uses biological phrases with apparent familiarity which would deceive the uninitiated but trap him into such ineptness as "the theory of mutation and its ally, the Mendelian theory" and to such occasional howlers as this "The species with eyes appears suddenly, capriciously as it were, and it is this species which changes the environment by creating its visible aspect".

(6) In "Metapolitics: From the Romantics to Hitler" (Knopf, 1941), Peter Viereck with great erudition traces the evil of Hitler from the romantics, attributes to Wagner and to an Englishman, Houston Chamberlain, the chief guilt. The brilliant son of George Sylvester Viereck, he is obsessed by the term 'Geopolitics' and has gone 'beyond'. I. A. Richards has gone within, in his "Psychopolitics" (*Fortune*, Sept., 1942), in which there is some sense and less brilliance.

Of "the last great war" Richards says, "Psychopolitically the winners were Germany and Russia. They found strength through it; while the nominal victors found disillusion, dissidence, self-distrust, and all the conditions which invite defeat. How are we to prevent this from happening again? . . . Democracy and the whole fabric of beliefs about ourselves and other people which give it substance have lacked reality for honest minds. All this language still echoes hollowly."

(7) Jacques Barzun, Ph.D. of Columbia, a brilliant young Frenchman whose father was a French propagandist here in the last war, has a smear and a leer for those who saw something in Darwin's hypothesis. He pours out his scorn on those who established "once for all the idea that species had not been separately created . . . and that the supernatural was meaningless. . . . The three men who rose with this popular materialism and did the most to persuade the English-speaking world of its final truth were Spencer, Tyndall, and Huxley. . . . All three, though engineers at heart, admit that it is impossible to deduce consciousness from matter."

In America Barzun's chief devils were the founders of sociology, Lester Ward, William Graham Sumner, and Benjamin Kidd. "The best minds were whirling round and round in this vicious circle. . . . Their own tendencies to act like lions and foxes thereby became irresistible 'laws of nature'. . . . They took it for granted that all struggles in life must be struggles for life."

Barzun finds comfort in Henry Adams' confusion in the face of life, his nostalgia for the supernatural in which he cannot believe. But Samuel Butler is his greatest comfort. Like Barzun he had no biological or scientific training, but in his "Deadlock in Darwinism" he stubbornly resisted the Darwinian ideas. "The deadlock was simply that machines, having no purposes of their own, could not evolve; but since animals and plants were treated by Darwin just as if they were machines, Darwinian evolution was impossible."

He takes great delight in discovering that Darwin's idea had occurred to others long before, for there have been evolutionists since the Greeks. His chapter on "The Evolution of Evolution" contains nothing that was not set forth a generation earlier by H. F. Osborn in his "From the Greeks to Darwin".

Barzun has had a lovely time busting images. He is conspicuously erudite, and he writes beautifully. Moreover he imparts to his writing his nostalgic regret for the things he has known which are no more. The cream that rose to the top of his rich life was of high quality, but it has not only soured, it has a sickness.

When a litterateur, metaphysician, supernaturalist, philosopher, with his glance over his shoulder, undertakes to become critical of biological observations and hypotheses, he puts himself in some strange attitudes. He deals with biology as though it were a philosophy.

(8) Julian Huxley in "The Origins of Species" in his volume "The Uniqueness of Man" (Chatto & Windus, London, 1941), published as "Man Stands Alone" (Harper, 1941), further explains, "The differentiation of new species depends on three factors—variation, selection, and isolation. . . . One of the most startling facts, which would have been regarded as impossible by earlier generations of biologists, is that new species may arise suddenly, at a single bound. . . .

"Large-scale evolution we can only deduce, or at best follow on its vast time-scale with the aid of fossils; but small-scale evolution is proceeding here and now, and lies open to analysis with the aid of the tools of modern research. . . . Evolution in the broad sense consists of a few kinds of long-range trends. But these are cut up by isolation into species and subspecies, whose enormous numbers bear no relation to the major underlying trends. And even the adaptive nature of these small units is largely obscured by the frills and furbelows of non-adaptive accident which can lodge in these discontinuous group-units—mere diversification abundantly but meaninglessly superposed on the adaptive meaning and slow advance of life."

(9) Goldschmidt distinguishes "microevolution" within species and "macroevolution" which gives rise to the origin of species, genera, etc. In the former it is the accumulation of small mutations and the "occupation of available ecological niches by the pre-adapted mutants". But these "geographical races are not incipient species". Species and even genera "originate in single macroevolutionary steps", the genetic process being the "repatting of the chromosomes".

"The Raw Materials of Evolution", *Scientific Monthly*, May, 1938, are dealt with by Theodosius Dobzhansky, professor of genetics at Cal Tech and research associate, Carnegie Institute. These are the "enormous supply of genetic variability, both in the gene and the chromosome structure. . . . One may be tempted to speculate that in an eternally constant environment all the survivors may become so ideally adjusted that the best of all possible worlds could at least emerge. . . .

"A genetically uniform species . . . will be threatened as soon as the environment changes. . . . The life of an individual or a species can endure only so long as a certain equilibrium between the organism and its environment is maintained. . . . In reality the environment is not constant, neither on the geological nor on the everyday scale. The organism must . . . either change itself in conformity with the demands of the new environments or face extinction. . . .

"The crucial question is whether or not the living organisms can react purposefully to the demands of the environment, by producing those, and only those,

mutations that are desirable in a given set of conditions. The whole sum of our knowledge argues in favor of a negative answer."

(10) "As Whitehead has said, each event is the reflection or effect of every other event, past as well as present. . . . Let us not forget that scientific method is extremely young: what are three centuries compared to the millenniums of civilization, the million years of man, or the thousand million years of evolving life? . .

"Even after Copernicus, the doctrine that the sun goes round the earth could still be logically maintained. But it demanded enormous complexity of epicycle upon epicycle. The rival theory that the earth goes round the sun was far simpler and more satisfying; in the climate provided by developing civilization it survived, the other simply died out of human thinking. . . .

"Thanks to repression, it is natural for us not only to think in absolute terms, but to feel in them. The inhibiting influences of the superego tend to produce an intolerant assurance of being right, because only through such an assurance could they have succeeded in repressing their opponents into the unconscious. In so far as they succeed, they acquire emotional certitude; and that emotional certitude, given the construction of the human mind, inevitably tends to rationalize itself by claiming absolute value. . . . The inconstancy of ethical values revealed by history and anthropology, which is at first so confusing and distressing, turns out not to be wholly at random. Ethics is related, though incompletely and indirectly, to the solid facts of man's environment: it is a social adaptation." (Julian Huxley, *Fortune*, Dec., 1942)

(11) To justify and document the generalizations made in his presidential address to the Zoology Section of the British Association in 1936, Julian Huxley has produced "Evolution: The Modern Synthesis" (Allen and Unwin, 1942). It is a work of scientific scholarship. The titles on biological research cited in the bibliography run to thirty-five closely printed pages, the subject index to eight double-column pages, the index of organisms on which observations or researches are cited to fifteen pages, and the index of authorities to eight.

"The modern conception of natural selection and its mode of operation is quite different from that of Darwin's day, but much of the research on which the changed outlook is based is so recent that the new ideas have not spread far. The idea of evolutionary progress, on the other hand, has been undeservedly neglected. . . . I also feel sure that a classification and analysis of evolutionary trends and processes as observed or deduced in nature, and the attempted relation of them to the findings of genetics and systematics, is of first-class importance for any unified biological outlook."

(12) "Paradoxical as it may seem, the reactionary proclivities of protoplasm are as much a factor in evolution as its instability and flux." For hundreds of millions of years our old friend, the Lingula, "like Santayana's Puritan . . . found it reassuring to be unobserved, even when doing nothing morally wrong". He is the apotheosis of the stand-patter, the outstanding survivor of the once numerous tribe of brachiopods. All this time he has resided on the edge of the continental shelf at a depth where the temperatures are constant and surface currents do not dis-

turb, where light does not penetrate. Unlike the featherless bipeds, he is never troubled by the sunrise and never saddened by the sunset. He has no need to light a candle, call it day, and blow it out and call it night. There is no need to retire to his country estate barricaded by non-taxable securities. He is more completely adjusted to his environment than those human antiquities who fill university chairs. He would not blush at being called a living fossil. Through all the periods of mountain building and climatic change, "Lingula sat in the mud with professorial calm. He is history's outstanding example of stagnation." (John Hodgdon Bradley, "The Other Side of Progress", from "Patterns of Survival", Macmillan, 1938)

In "The Causes of Evolution" (London, 1932), J. B. S. Haldane briefly recounts the history of one of the longest lived dynasties of aristocrats in the world's history. "In the later stage of Ammonite history a much more surprising phenomenon occurred. . . . Features appeared which had not been seen for a hundred million years, but which strongly resembled those of the earliest known Ammonites. The suture-line became simplified, and the shell uncoiled. Sometimes the primitive features seem to have been present right through the animal's life-history. In other lines of descent the shell was at first coiled, but in the fully adult animal it was straightened out. This reversion to primitive type was always the prelude to extinction. . . . There was a brilliant renaissance during the Liassic period, one of the older groups giving rise to many new types. But an epoch of archaism set in once more in the Cretaceous, and at the end of that period the last Ammonite died. . . . These bizarre forms, however, were only temporarily successful. After about 400 million years of life the Ammonites became extinct."

ADJUSTMENT IS PAINFUL

Nothing is more sacred to us than our way of life. That includes our religion and our gods, as well as our liking or abhorrence for tripe or pigs feet. It has taken great medical discoveries publicized in a national campaign to bring some of us to eat liver. This making adjustments or changing our ways is the thing we all put off as long as possible.

And when in a time of confusion like the present we are obliged to do so many things we don't want to, we optimistically look forward to a time when we can eventually settle down and do just as we did in the past. This blind hopefulness that we may not have to change our ways permanently, this stubborn resistance to the inevitable, this stupid failure to anticipate what could have been seen coming, will in the end take a heavy toll. Adjustments must eventually be made, even with the resulting confusion, waste and war which are incident to great revolution, the result of long delayed action. (1)

Custom sometimes postpones the time of adjustment. New York people put off moving till May Day. That is a hang-over from early Dutch settlers. So on the day leases expire, everything is confusion. Some are moving up to better apartments, some, unable to meet expenses, to cheaper quarters or back to the old farm.

To those who have lapsed into torpidity, the tempo of our time brings the new day with the suddenness of a tropic sunrise. "The dawn comes up like thunder" for the somnolent. The sleepy roisterer and waster is not prepared to enjoy the dewy freshness of the morn and rosy rays of the rising sun. In the happy fin-de-siecle days not so long ago we sang, "Oh, do not wake me, let me dream again. For dreaming is such joy, waking is such pain." Most of us "hate to get up in the morning".

Adaptation means change in the organism or in its habits to fit the changing biosphere, the total environment which envelops us. Those who have fallen behind in adaptation, when the inevitable catches up with them, make violent attempts to defend themselves, resist, or catch up. When this is characteristic of a period, we say there is a revolution going on. The dinosaurs, once the dominant aristocrats of the earth, were highly specialized to meet a great variety of conditions which had long per-

sisted. When the Devonian volcanoes filled the upper atmosphere with dust and shut off the actinic rays necessary for their life, they withered and died. Even their collateral descendants, the Komodo dragons, in the murky atmosphere of London, to survive have to have actinic rays supplied from ultra violet lamps. (1a)

Now, a high degree of specialization may rob banker, lawyer, merchant of the essential flexibility that makes possible adaptation to change. Our aristocracies, crowned heads, princes of finance, economic royalists, after a few generations become so specialized in their ways of living within their limited world, so unconscious of the larger scene, that when conditions suddenly change they are likely to be wiped out. It has happened before. It can happen again.

Our way of life is the result of long conditioning to the ways of our fellows. It is inherited from our ancestors who changed their ways a long time ago. For each of us it is determined by our beliefs. When our fixed ideas conflict with the changing conditions about us, we feel first irritation, then confidence that we can take it, and hope that the old ways will be restored if we sit tight. (2)

Coming out of our bewilderment too late we see that this passive resistance was harmful. Then we are ready to blame the other fellow who in order to preserve his gains, privilege, or prestige aggressively resisted the inevitable. But frequently it is these same fellows, foremost in foresight, who are alert enough to quickly adapt themselves to the change they see coming.

But even those of us who have nothing to gain by the continuance of what has been, would still "rather bear those ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of". (3) We like things as they have been, the old chair, the old shoe, the old wife, though out of shape but shaped to us. So we avoid the continuous excitement of constantly threatened changes which might result in neuroses. An old colored 'Aunt' of Selma, Alabama, well along in her nineties, when asked for the secret of her long life, reflectively replied, "When I sets, I sets loose". Relaxed, she avoids strain and survives.

All peoples pride themselves on their way of life. They must necessarily regard it as superior to all others. Otherwise they would lack faith in their own culture, and it would decay. There is nothing specially human about this. It is characteristic of any organism that has become adapted to conditions. We see it in our domestic animals. Our cats be-

come so wanted to their familiar surroundings that they have great difficulty in adapting themselves to a new home. You can bewilder any creature by changing its way of life too rapidly. At Cornell the laboratory psychologists have been making pigs psychotic by subjecting them to changes so rapidly that they cannot adjust themselves.

The significance of contemporary changes is given to but few to understand. Often the most active participants in a revolution are working for immediate ends other than those that eventuate. The French Revolution originated with the intellectuals. The torch passed to more active leaders, under whom the mob played its spectacular but incidental part like the chorus in an opera. In England Burke saw only the confusion, the chaos, the terror. Fox could see something more. But a generation passed before the English recognized this upheaval as a revolution. The Reformation, in all its phases a period of great discomfort, to put it mildly, is not yet universally recognized as a process of loosening the fetters and chains of long standing religious authority. To the Catholics, it's the Protestant rebellion.

Now we are in the midst of another period of change, which has to do with modifying our long accepted economic premises and changing the practices and institutions based on them. The change must be more rapid now because of long delay, more cataclysmic because of the great effort by the misguided to hold to what they have long enjoyed. Old leaders are failing us, new ones are seen by the old as usurpers, gangsters. The confusion and discomfort are what impress us. We 'can't do business' with such interlopers because their methods are unfamiliar. But if the old methods are outworn and if we have nothing new to propose, we may have to fall in with the ways that these usurpers have worked out.

"The stresses which exist in our life today are not typical of every period. Rather this is an 'era of change so rapid that it may be called a crisis era' ", writes Walter Loban in "The Social Objectives of Education", *Educational Trends*, Mar.-Apr., 1941.(4) As a people, Loban reminds us, "Participation in the last war convinced thinking Americans that we should make every effort to build better and more solidly a world of nations actively cooperating for the good of all, a civilization which would elevate all men to freedom and dignity."

"The politicians in all countries had promised a land fit for heroes." In England, "Their dream, conceived in an hour of blinding and agonising revelation . . . the home of their own, the craft of their choice, the

bit of land—status, security, creation and continuity. . . . Why had the soldier who had overcome so much failed after the peace to achieve those simple and elementary hopes for which the dead had died? . . . What, puzzled men with long but hazy memories asked, had happened? . . .

"When the soldiers came home they found a world designed for stock-brokers and rentiers and civil servants. It was built not in the image of their apocalyptic dream but in that of the utilitarian labyrinth of the money-changers from which they had gone forth in 1914." (5)

Adjustment is a new idea. No one spoke of adjustment a couple of generations ago. Even before there was life crystals in forming had to adjust themselves to physical limitations. Every organic creature that Mother Nature has created has in the process of living continued to adjust itself. That is what makes life interesting. (6a)

Adjustment to the environment is essential to the existence of life. It comes before the need of food, which is merely to prolong life. In a volcanic eruption or an earthquake one doesn't stop for food, one tries to change his environment to one less dangerous. Environment then becomes the commanding influence. You respond with terror, but you don't object, you don't resist. If you do, you die. If you can't stop an advancing lava flow and don't see, hear or feel it coming, you're a goner. (6)

With the simplest form of life it is just the same and has been since life began. Under the microscope watch an amoeba, eager to take in food, extend its pseudopodia toward a nutritious particle. Then introduce some harmful chemical, an acid, under the slide. The amoeba retreats, contracts, adjusting himself so as to present the least possible surface to the deleterious substance. The nutritious chemical, the food, is no longer the determining factor.

The simplest adjustment is merely tropism, a turning from or toward the thing that is inimical or beneficial, like the heliotropic plant tip which turns to the sunlight or the root tip which turns from the sunlight.

H. S. Jennings has devoted his life to the love life of the paramecium, a uni-cellular, slipper-like animal. Its positive and negative responses to physical or chemical stimuli, sunlight, food and poisons, have enabled Jennings to write on its behavior and psychology.

"The success of organisms—their survival and efficiency, the fulness of their lives—depends not alone on their structure and inner physiological processes; it depends in large measure on the way they behave. It depends on their maintaining proper relations with the rest of the world.

. . . The organism must avoid, retreat from certain conditions; it must seize and hold other conditions. Life, thus involves selectivity in a high degree; selectivity in a complex and deceptive world. This is true for all organisms; for amoeba as for man", writes Jennings. "The penalty for making wrong choices, the penalty for inaccuracy and inadequacy in the reactions to the outer conditions" is death for the individual and for all his possible descendants and perhaps the race. (7)

The penalty has been paid by billions whose existence has been cut short and by more billions who never saw the light of day, thus making it impossible for other potential billions ever to see the light of day.

Not only individuals but whole species and genera and orders, and even larger groups, become totally extinct. Where are the thousands of species of brachiopods of yesterday, whose hundreds of millions of individuals have left so complete a record on the Silurian rocks? Incomplete as our study of the incomplete record is, more extinct genera have been discovered, named, and described than exist today. Only what Mother Nature regards as bad die young, the good survive. Only the few that had the vitality, the agility, the adaptability to change with their changing environment, have come through, but in such form that their remote ancestors would not recognize them.

Life as the biologists see it is a great adventure, a great experiment, never static, always changing, full of excitement, bringing thrills at every moment. But the general run of creatures are not strong enough for adventure and finding new ways, they don't joy in exploring. They are timorous. There are men even, who want a definite end set to their journey, a goal and then a leader to take them to it. They want to know all truth from a source of authority. Such men rely on human institutions.

Human institutions too have a way of adapting themselves to conditions so that they continue to exist under conditions that would have been fatal to them in their original form. Someone has commented on the survival and adaptation of two of the greatest human institutions, the Roman Catholic Church and the Standard Oil Company. Their missionaries and salesmen have penetrated to the most remote parts of the earth and have adapted their sales talk to those whom they would serve. The cross and the five gallon can may be found at the back door of China, in the remote jungles of Africa. They supply light for darkness and lamps with oil.

The whole story of life on this earth, of mankind in his development,

presents many fascinating tales of how in the face of new conditions the great majority have gone under. But in the process of 'kicking off', individuals, groups, institutions and species are apt to make a lot of trouble for those others who are more adjustable and so survive.

In "This Simian World" Clarence Day pictured the character of life and civilization if instead of the higher apes having developed the dominant brain, it had been the cats, the eagles or the elephants. Such super animals might develop from any group,—man, cat, eagle, elephant. Other types may become dominant.

If "man at last destroys himself, as some now anticipate", says Jennings, "the resources of the universe . . . are not thereby exhausted. If man succeeds . . . he is at the end of his developmental career. . . . The idea of a superman, of many grades of superman, is not a mere mythical fancy but a possibility, or, rather, a probability. The time which lies before us is as great as that which lies behind us. . . . The path of intellectual improvement lies open. Even to raise the average of mankind to the level of the highest that have already existed—to the level of a Goethe or a Leonardo—would mean a tremendous advance."

Man is the most adaptable of all organisms. His superior adaptability is due to the use of his cortex. He cannot grow a heavier coat in winter, but he can create conditions under which he can live. He tempers the wind by erecting a shelter. He builds an igloo and lives in an artificial atmosphere. He is able within limits to modify his environment.

Max Nordau in his "Interpretation of History" (Moffat, Yard, 1911), expresses it better. "Man is the sole living thing upon the earth that refuses to be exterminated by an unfavourable environment, and defends himself actively against nature by the invention of artificial conditions. Instead of adapting his skin, his digestive apparatus, and the means by which he moves from place to place, he confined himself to adaptation by his brain, the most highly differentiated part of his system." He "alone of living creatures . . . invented a mode of adjustment surpassing the ingenuity of any previous creature on the earth. Instead of altering himself, he directed his efforts to the alteration of eternal conditions. Instead of trying to fit his organism into an environment that had become incompatible to his needs, he tried to adapt that environment to his organism and its needs."

"The quality most useful in nature, from the point of view of domination of a wider environment, is the quality of changeableness, plasticity,

mobility, or versatility," deduces Dr. Crile. "Man's claim to a superior place among animals depends less upon different reactions than upon a greater number of reactions as compared with the reactions of 'lower' animals. Ability to respond adaptively to more elements in the environment gives a larger dominion, that is all." And "there exists abundant and reliable evidence of the fact that wherever man has been subjected to the stunting influences of an unchanging environment fairly favorable to life, he has shown no more disposition to progress than the most stolid animals. Indeed, he has usually retrograded. The need to fight for food and home has been the spur that has ever driven man forward to establish the manifold forms of physical and mental life which make up human existence today." (8)

Some men, once sensitive, gradually acquire immunity from the attacks of reformers, muckrakers, and the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune". Where such defensive provisions do not insure security, escape is instinctive. Rather than undergo the pain of adjustment or the labor of defense, the first tendency is to run away, to escape, to live to fight another day. (9)

NOTES

(1) Lombroso, however, pointed out that the normal man's hatred for the new, which he called "misonicism", is a protection against harm. Unless his brain is active he may not be able to adapt himself. The new may make demands that he cannot meet. And so, often in his long history, man has undergone misery and suffering to which he has been long accustomed rather than go to the effort of freeing himself from an established habit.

(1a) "The realm in which the life process takes place has been termed 'biosphere'." This is limited in range of temperature, pressure and moisture, from life in hot springs to the arctic, from mountain tops to sea depths. These essential conditions are dwelt upon in Lawrence J. Henderson's "The Fitness of the Environment". An organism cannot be conceived independent of its environment. The process of living cannot go on without intake from outside. In the process the organism utilizes its energy and has to take in or assimilate food. "The biological process is not a resultant of external forces, but is, in part, governed by specifically biological endogenous factors." R. Ehrenberg defines "the conception of life as an oscillation about a position of equilibrium, as repeated disturbances and reestablishments of an equilibrium". (Quoted and abstracted from "Foundations for a Science of Personality", The Commonwealth Fund, 1941, by Andras Angyal, Resident Director of Research, Worcester State Hospital, Mass.)

(2) Sir Arnold Wilson, one of the earliest victims of this war, found comfort to his questionings from Plato's Republic, vii: "Since everything that has come

into being must one day perish, even a system like ours [the perfect society] will not endure for all time but must suffer dissolution." But it was an old question even three millenniums ago,—“Say not thou: what is the cause, that the days of the old tyme were better than they be nowe, for that were no wise question.” (Ecclesiastes VII) (Quoted by Sir Arnold Wilson, “More Thoughts and Talks”, Right Book Club, London, 1939, p 62)

- (3) “Whether ’tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles. . . .
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin?
. . . The native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o’er with the pale cast of thought;
And enterprises of great pith and moment,
With this regard, their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action.”

(4) To the physicist, a stress implies a force from outside applied to a resistant medium, as a weight on the center of a beam. The pull of gravity may result in a strain, that is a bending, a permanent distortion. But it is the function of all things living to respond to outside forces, to adapt themselves to them.

(5) From Arthur Bryant’s “English Saga: 1840-1940”, (Collins with Eyre & Spottiswood, 1940), we quote further: “The desideratum of every national policy was not whether it increased the actual wealth of a country—the crops, homes, amenities, health, happiness and character of its inhabitants—but whether it multiplied the returns of the men of money and of those to whom their money, seeking multiplication by usury, was advanced. . . .

“It was the paradox of the nineteenth century—an epoch in which Britain led the world—that the practice of a sturdy and often heroic individualism, which increased the potentialities of human wealth out of measure, unwittingly created social injustice and inhumanity on a scale formerly unknown to Christians. The economists were proved right in their contention that enlightened self-interest, unfettered by State control, could enrich men more quickly than any other means. Yet the human misery caused by its pursuit justified the prophets of a more ordered society who warned unheeding generations that profits created at the price of social health and contentment were illusory. In the long run they were not profits at all. For they had still to be paid for in the cumulative loss of working power sustained through inhuman conditions of life and labour and inferior breeding capacity. . . .

“It was madness deliberately to reshape the frontiers of central Europe in order to ensure the bankruptcy of German, Austrian and Hungarian producers and enrich their rivals in the victor states. [Footnote]: In a letter written in November, 1917, F. S. Oliver, then serving as secretary to a Cabinet Committee, described how the Foreign Office, the Board of Trade, the Treasury and the India Office were all thinking out ‘separate policies for doing in the Hun in the matter of his ex-

ports of manufacturer's imports of raw materials after the war'. At the time of writing thousands of Englishmen were dying daily in the mud of Passchendaele. . . .

"As Maynard Keynes pointed out, during the half-century before the war Europe had become industrialised round the hard core of a manufacturing Germany. . . .

"The ends of those who controlled capital became increasingly served, not by the steady development of the earth's resources, but by successive booms and slumps which brought recurrent uncertainty and unemployment to the workers in all lands but whose intelligent foreknowledge offered favourably-placed speculators and monopolists opportunities of enormous profits. [Footnote]: How great such profits were can be seen from the fluctuating prices of commodities. In the three years between 1935 and 1938 the variations in the maximum and minimum prices of lead, zinc, copper, and rubber, were respectively, 176, 170, 152, and 132 percent. In 1938 wheat prices at Liverpool ranged between 58s. 4½d. and 24s. 6d. Such vast variations in a world unified by science and cheap transport cannot be explained solely by natural causes."

(6a) In nature we have structures that may be spoken of as "static", as the structure of a crystal in which the molecules are arranged about axes. Of course a crystal in its internal structure is not static. It is a maelstrom of activity, molecules constantly in motion, but all motions preserve a relativity toward the axes. In the same way we might consider a planetary system as static, for all the motions are relative to certain axes, to the forces exerted within their field. But there are other forms in nature that are constantly changing their structure. An organism is of that type and may be spoken of as "dynamic". Jennings defines an organism as "a process". (cf Angyal, p 20)

(6) Professor Jaggard, volcanist, formerly of Harvard, who has devoted the last quarter century to sitting on the rim of Kilauea, from observation with the aid of instruments, carefully recorded, may be able to predict increased volcanic activity, which he cannot control, though in minor ways it may be stimulated. He may forewarn the populace, who may divert an approaching lava flow. Geologists can detect long secular changes and tell us that we are coming out of an ice age, though it would be beyond their power to accelerate it or prevent it.

(7) The following quotations are from my old laboratory colleague, Herbert S. Jennings, in his book "The Universe and Life" (Yale, 1933). It is worth quoting in extenso.

"The daily, the hourly, occupation of most organisms—high or low—is the seeking of conditions that are favorable for life and the avoiding of conditions that are unfavorable. In doing this, decisions are continually required as to whether certain things are or are not to be done; that is, whether they are right or wrong. . . .

"Attempts have been made, in some artificial systems of thought, to divorce the ideas of what is right from the practical question of what is to be done; but such divorce leads to confusion in thought and action. To say that a thing is right but

is not to be done, or is wrong but is to be done, is contradiction in essence; it means a loss of contact with the foundation on which such judgments rest. . . .

"The progressive changes that are one of the great characteristics of life do not occur in a single direction but in many directions. There is a copious and multifarious diversity in the tendencies to change, in the production of new forms, new types. Evolution is indeed, as Boas suggested, 'creative and fanciful, exulting in diversity'. . . .

"Life is transforming now as it has transformed in the past. . . . The processes of transformation are now under observation in hundreds of laboratories of genetics. And life is bound to continue this transformation in the future. The universe is not finished, it is still in the making. . . .

"Life is traveling a new course, the final goal of which does not now exist, the end of which is not now predictable. Life that is upon a new adventure, life that is moving in directions not laid out beforehand, life that is transforming into what did not before exist, life that is rising to heights not before reached—this is the vision that biology presents to our eyes. . . . And this is a vision that is at least as interesting, as inspiring, as would be life without originality, treading dully a course marked out for it beforehand."

(8) Dr. George W. Crile in "Man: An Adaptive Mechanism" (Macmillan, 1916), goes on to say that evolution's "progressive victory of brain over brawn . . . may be regarded as but a manifestation of the process of survival by lability rather than by stability. Everywhere the organism that exhibits the qualities of quick response, of extreme sensibility to stimuli, of capacity to change, is the individual that survives, 'conquers', 'advances'. . . . That man alone of all animals should have achieved the degree of versatility sufficient for such advance is no more remarkable than that the elephant should have evolved a larger trunk and tusks than the boar. . . . Each organism, in evolving the combination of characters commensurate with safety in its particular environment, has touched the limit of both its necessity and its power to 'advance'." (Crile, as adapted by Park and Burgess in their "Introduction to the Science of Sociology", Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921)

(9) "The New Englander is an individualist; in his vigorous virility, a Radical. The first New Englanders became New Englanders because they were insurgents and couldn't get along comfortably in old England. In his pride of descent, after some generations of prosperity, the New Englander stiffens into a Conservative, developing a hard, calcareous, and spiny shell, as does the crab after molting." (Handbook of New England, Porter Sargent, 1921, p 30)

UNITY VERSUS HERESY

The confusion characteristic of rapid change naturally enough leads minds "afraid, in a world they never made" to turn back to times when society seemed to have solidity, and 'security' was secure. Those who have long snored in the quiet comfort of the over-stuffed endowed chair particularly resent being disturbed. To relieve their wearied minds, some may nostalgically yearn for the unity of thought of monastic times.

Bidding farewell in May, 1941, to the large elementary class in History which he directed at Harvard for 41 years, Professor Roger Bigelow Merriman, known since his undergraduate days ('96) as 'Frisky', left the podium with tears streaming down his cheeks, the Harvard *Crimson* reported. No more would the undergraduates hear his familiar refrain: "Let me repeat, gentlemen, that the keynote of the history of the Middle Ages is Unity. . . . Remember, gentlemen, that in those days everything was slow, slow, in-con-ceivably slow."

This doctrine, the perfection of Medieval Unity, which, however disrupted, would eventually be restored, the lecturer felt would no longer be preached to those receptive young minds before him. To them, he had not explained,—perhaps it had been blotted from his mind,—that such unity was not in the nature of things, but was imposed from above, dictated by one supreme power. To preserve that unity and to save souls from the sin of heresy, not only were those in authority justified, but they were in duty bound to torture the body, if so they could save souls from the sin of heresy.(1)

"If men really believed the medieval Christian scheme, they were bound to be intolerant, bound to persecute and establish inquisitions", Julian Huxley remarks in "The Uniqueness of Man" (Chatto & Windus, London, 1941). "The period of human evolution which we may call the period of the great theological religions was from this point of view one in which perplexed human beings, in their struggle with the outer world, with other human beings, and most of all with the tortuous inconsistencies and treacheries of the human spirit, found much-needed help in the fixity of generalized schemes of thought."

Medieval theological society had unity because no diversity of thought

or belief was permitted to disturb it. All was based on the revelations of God to man, which came through the Pope, God's vicar on earth. To doubt or to search for truths other than those which had been revealed was to rebel against the rational system ordained by God. It was heresy, the vilest of all sins.(2)

One of these truths was that the earth had been created especially for man, that it was set in the center of the universe, and that "God said, Let there be light: and there was light. . . . And the evening and the morning were the first day. . . . And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also. . . . And the evening and the morning were the fourth day."(3)

When it eventually became known that a priest, Copernicus, had in his posthumously published "*De Revolutionibus Orbium Celestium*" (1543) presented evidence of the untruth of this geocentric conception, medieval unity was shattered.(4) That was heresy, to be crushed to earth. But it rose again and again until it prevailed. But non-conforming heretics, as in every age, continue to question accepted truth, while others in academic circles claim to be searching for the truth, or at least give that as an excuse for their cloistered existence.(5)

The revolt from Rome, the so-called Reformation, was not so much the result of new 'truths' discovered, as of the rejection of what had long been considered old 'truths'. It was three hundred years after Calvin before there was any general admission of the right of freedom of thought. Brooks Adams reminds us that "Calvin was no less orthodox than St. Augustine in what he accepted; his heresy lay in the denial of enigmas from which his understanding recoiled. . . . Howsoever bitterly Catholic and Protestant divines have hated and persecuted each other, they have united like true brethren in their hatred and their persecution of heretics."(6)

Dissenting non-conformists had left England in their desire to gain freedom from the control of the Church of England and the Crown, which had established a new unity of their own. With freedom in the new land, the Puritan ministry usurped the power of the Church they had left behind. They claimed the function of interpreting the Word of God, based on their ability to read the Bible in the original. "The syllogism of the New England elders was this: all revelation is contained in the Bible; we alone, from our peculiar education, are capable of interpreting the meaning of the Scriptures: therefore we only can declare the will of

God." Brooks Adams in his "Emancipation of Massachusetts" first revealed the struggle for liberty against this oppressive hierarchy.(7)

The theological hierarchy early took steps to establish a college for conditioning their successors, "dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Church when our present ministers shall 'lie in the Dust' ".(8) Without a trained ministry to carry on, to have and to hold the supreme power, that power might be seized from them even more easily than they had usurped it from the Roman priesthood.

'Veritas' now appears everywhere on the architecture, stationery, publications, of Harvard. When it was first adopted for the Harvard seal, the Truth was known. It had been revealed by God to man. The Puritan hierarchy, its guardians, assumed the privilege of doling it out. To deny their exclusive claim to this was the greatest heresy, which it became their duty to suppress, at whatever cost to the body of the heretic, ostensibly to save his soul, but in effect to save the job of the ministers and to perpetuate their control over the people.

About 1660 the followers of John Fox, known as Quakers, began to come to New England. Their claim that they as individuals could commune direct with God, without the intervention of priest or prelate, was to the clergy the vilest of heresies. Had they permitted these Quakers to preach their doctrines, and allowed their numbers to multiply, it would have destroyed their own prestige and position. They would have lost their jobs. In self-protection, they had to drive out the Quakers at whatever cost, however persistently they returned.(9) Only in this way could the Puritans maintain unity and preserve their authority.

As all things pass, the theological state faded before the dawn of the 18th century "Age of Reason". Mysticism gave way to rational religion, and the French Revolution overthrew the churches "to establish the figure of Reason as the supreme object of human devotion".(10)

Changed economic conditions following the settlement and exploitation of new lands led in turn to the passing of the Age of Reason. Unity of thought and belief became a thing of the past, as we learned of and began to understand the thought of other peoples once classed as heathen or savages. In the yeast of growing knowledge, scientific development, and new adjustments, the greatest diversity of belief and interpretation became inevitable and respectable.

The period between 1740 and 1750 has been designated by James Truslow Adams as "the Great Divide". In the colonies the growth of com-

merce brought with it the development of a mercantile class. Their need was for advice and protection of a kind the ecclesiastical hierarchy could not give. The need was to evade or comply with governmental restrictions, to get laws or decrees modified or passed. (11)

In response to this need, lawyers grew in power and multiplied, as the influence of the ministry waned. The lawyers' function was not to interpret the Word of God but to interpret the word of erstwhile rulers, to manipulate precedent, or to formulate and secure the enactment of laws that would favor the business of their clients.

It was the lawyers now to whom appeal was made to evade punishment, not of Hell but of jail. It was they who showed the way to salvation. And that way now was not through grace but through wealth to power. The new heresy was defiance of man-made law. But with a sufficiently good lawyer, one might get away with even that. (12)

There were no schools of law, as there were of theology to prepare such lawyers. But justices and judges, having served the public, retired to serve their clients. Throughout New England one finds in the old towns, besides beautiful colonial houses, small one-room wooden buildings, which were the law offices of the eighteenth century. To those law offices came not only clients but bright youths from the neighborhood to 'read law' with Judge So-and-So. (13)

Whenever society becomes static, and authority able to suppress the dissident, there will seem to be a period of relative unity. (14) Such a period followed the Civil War, an economic revolution not recognized as such till much later. Financial groups of the northeastern states held the South in mortgage bonds, while exploiting the new West.

This was a period of unity educationally. Horace Mann, who symbolizes the educational revolution of the '30's and '40's, was forgotten. The reforms he introduced had been formalized. Education was held static. Soon, however, this quiet was to be disturbed by heretical practices initiated by seminal minds with ideas they had brought from Europe.

Quincy, Massachusetts, was the home of the Adams family which had already given us two presidents. Charles Francis Adams, (15) our ambassador to England, had four sons,—John Quincy II, Charles Francis II, Henry, and Brooks. The eldest, John Quincy Adams II, was in 1873 president of the Quincy school board. He found that "although the pupils could analyze and parse sentences, they were helpless in applying their theoretical knowledge to practical situations, as in the case of writing a

simple letter. Confusion reigned when these pupils were asked to read a new book. They had been taught to memorize, not to apply their knowledge." (16)

It was Charles Francis Adams II who, through his brother John Quincy II, gave Colonel Parker his opportunity. (17) Adams, recuperating after the Civil War, "in England in November, 1865", tells us in his autobiography, "I one day chanced upon a copy of John Stuart Mill's essay on Auguste Comte, at that time just published. My intellectual faculties had been lying fallow for nearly four years, and I was in a most recipient condition; and that essay of Mill's revolutionized in a single morning my whole mental attitude." (18)

Francis Wayland Parker, who had been a school teacher in New Hampshire, had entered the Civil War as a private and come out a colonel. After the war he had served as principal of the normal school in Dayton, Ohio, and later as assistant superintendent of schools. In 1871 he had gone to Europe, where he had become familiar with the teaching of Comenius, Herbart, and Froebel. In 1875, at the age of thirty-eight, he was chosen superintendent of the Quincy schools. (19) "He had gone abroad in search of that training which he was unable to get in America, and at a comparatively mature age had made himself master of the modern German theories of common school education." (20) In the forties, Horace Mann of Massachusetts, Henry Barnard of Connecticut, and Calvin Stowe of Ohio, had made similar investigations in Europe and had introduced innovations which, however, had in the meantime become sterilized and classified.

Colonel Parker, writing in the *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1900, told of how at Quincy he "trudged from school to school watching the teachers, criticizing them personally, holding conferences, and discussing questions. He taught in every class . . . because he wished to learn how to teach. It was exhilarating, delightful work. . . .

"The old-fashioned, stiff, unnatural order was broken up. The torture of sitting perfectly still with nothing to do was ruled out, and in came an order of work, with all the whispering and noise compatible with the best results. The child began to feel that he had something to do for himself, that he was a member of society, with the responsibilities that accompany such an important position. . . . In school the child has too often a separate stream of thought, or a stagnant pool, totally separate from his real life."

"It was the custom for pupils to read through in one year one little book that a bright well-taught child can read from end to end in a few hours. . . . They learned the book, often, by heart. . . . They would say every word, chant it, sing it, repeat it in their sleep. . . .

"The Committee appropriated \$500 for children's reading, and I spent it as best I could. I packed the precious freight of new books into an express wagon and drove from school to school, taking up books and furnishing new sets. The flood of literature for schools we have now is not twenty-five years old. The introduction of so-called supplementary reading, now well-nigh universal, was then exceptional." (Excerpt from a speech made by Colonel Parker at Quincy, Apr. 20, 1900, Quincy *Daily Ledger*, Apr. 23, 1900)

"The work he undertook was an object of derision, as well as of sympathy, all over the country. He was a pioneer, and to many he seemed a faddist, a fanatic," declared John Dewey twenty-five years later in 1902.(21) Yet from 1878 to 1880 over 30,000 school teachers from all over the country had come to inspect the schools of Quincy and went away to denounce or to imitate. As a result of the denunciation, the Massachusetts State Board of Education conducted an examination and found that the teaching in fundamentals was better at Quincy than elsewhere.

Colonel Parker, called to the Cook County Normal School in 1883, made Chicago a center of educational inspiration that spread far and wide. To set his educational watch, as he put it, G. Stanley Hall made a yearly pilgrimage.(22)

The centennial of Parker's birth was celebrated in 1937 by tributes from prominent educators in the December issue of *Progressive Education*. One of his staff, Marion Foster Wotherspoon, mother of Carleton Washburne, called him "a realist, and passionate foe of sham and of all idealism which did not connect up with practical life".

Following in Colonel Parker's footsteps, inspired too by the writings of Edward Carpenter, was Cecil Reddie in 1889 at his new school, Abbotsholme in Yorkshire, England. One of his instructors was J. H. Badley, who in 1893 established Bedales, a model coeducational school for children. Dr. Herman Lietz spent a year at Abbotsholme as a teacher, and published a book on his experiences there. In 1898 he founded the first of the German 'Landerziehungsheime', which was the beginning of the New School Movement on the Continent. M. Edmond Demolins, writer

and sociologist, opening his Ecoles des Roches in 1899, first brought the 'New School' to France. In the United States, eight years later in 1907, Dr. E. A. Rumely opened his Interlaken School in Indiana, the first of these schools in the United States. (23)

But it was many years before the Quincy movement affected the great mass of our American schools. Grammar School Number One, in Brooklyn, where I passed through eight grades in a state of coma during the '80's, was proud of its number, its tradition, its practices. No one questioned them. No breath of the reforms of Colonel Parker or of Horace Mann forty years earlier had penetrated its walls.

In the ordained three R's there was endless drill. Even American history we learned by rote, repeating the lines of the text book. If we paraphrased, if we stumbled, we were marked a failure and the word was "Next". That made teaching easy for the unintelligent and unenterprising. So far as my memory goes, in the eight grades of grammar school only one of the teachers rated above average intelligence, a degenerate male sadist without any interests he could impart to his pupils.

Vivid, however, are my remembrances of the long summer days spent on my uncle's farm in the Catskills where I became familiar with the ancient arts of husbandry and the joys of mountain climbing. From chasing butterflies and collecting bugs I was led on to studying minerals, so abundant in the rocks of New York. It was a rich experience out of school, but there was no connection with what happened within.

It was perhaps about 1885 that into this stale school world I remember there came to Grammar School Number One a visitor who lingered in the classrooms for hours, intent on observing what we were doing. He was a tall, dignified, clear eyed man. His name was Maxwell. He was looking into our practices. Evidently he had heard of how things were being done elsewhere. For years he was looked upon as an heretical trouble-maker who was interfering with the unity of a perfect system of education. But he became superintendent, changed the educational methods, and was more than anyone else responsible for the establishment of the excellent system of schools that was developed in New York in and around the turn of the century.

Johns Hopkins, planned on the models of the German universities, was opened in 1876. Huxley at the inauguration stirred the intellectual and educational world with his brave clearheadedness. Eliot, the new president at Harvard, was stimulated to restaff his faculty with German

educated Ph.D.'s. From these centers gradually new influences penetrated the ecclesiastical strongholds of Princeton, against the thunderings of McCosh and the ministerial heads of other great universities and colleges. Obligated to meet competition with the new and better, they protested bitterly.

With all this yeast a-working in the educational world, even at Harvard where so much of this movement started and centered, I was graduated in '96, only to face a static world and a perfect system of education. The new religion of Darwinism, which was popularly interpreted by intellectuals as magnifying man's ego, had contributed something to the feeling that I stood on the apex of God's creative scheme, the product of a perfect system, facing a perfect world. There was nothing to do in such a world except gather such plunder as lay around loose, or outwit one's fellows; and that's what most proceeded to do. In this world of plunder and waste, the exhaustion of our physical resources went on unchecked.

It was John Dewey, for whom Colonel Parker's work prepared the ground, who almost alone, amidst the educational "disorder and conflict" of the 1930's, was not confused.(24) The trouble with education as he saw it was the lack of "freed intelligence with understanding, and informed conviction to guide it". Dewey, with clear vision and faith in the future, saw no need to retreat to the medieval or the Greek 'unity'. Courageously he proclaimed, "We must prepare our children not for the world of the past, or our world, but for the world ahead—their world".

Dewey gives expression to the glory of this age, one of freedom to explore, to go ahead, to question and to challenge. It is the glory of heresy freed from authoritarian control, liberated from the necessity of adhering to the unity of one standard belief.

NOTES

(1) "Wherever religious unity can still be invoked to oppose national unity, the political tension resolves itself into religious persecution. Jewish internationalism is the excuse for the brutalities of the Nazi State in Germany. . . . In the whole long history of religious oppression, from the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572 to the Jewish Atrocities of 1938, we may hear the note of one terrible slogan: All bodies of organised opinion are a menace to the State." (Dorothy Sayers, "Begin Here: A War-Time Essay", Gollancz, London, 1940)

(2) Anatole France tells us of the persecution of the monk Rabelais for heresy. At the monastery of Fontenay about 1520 "most of the monks looked with an

unfriendly eye on the three or four Hellenists of the community. They were afraid that knowledge, and especially knowledge of Greek, would destroy the soul. This fear was not peculiar to them; it existed in every convent. It was believed that Greek made heretics. . . .

"Finally the Chapter had a search made in the cells of Pierre Lamy and Francois Rabelais. Greek books were found, some writings from Germany and Italy, and the works of Erasmus. These books were confiscated. In addition a serious accusation was brought against the two scholars. They were reproached with devoting the profits which they drew from preaching the gospel to the upkeep of a large library, instead of consecrating them to the monastic revenues. . . . Pierre Lamy and Francois Rabelais, deprived of books and paper, placed in solitary confinement, suffered great woes and feared worse. . . .

"Deceiving their gaolers, they escaped by prompt flight from the claws of the cruel hobgoblins and found a sure retreat in the country, for they had friends there. The position of a fugitive monk was none the less precarious and dangerous. From some unknown hiding place, sick with torment and uneasiness, they made powerful personages take action in their favor and found protectors even in the King's household." (Anatole France, "Rabelais", Henry Holt, 1929, pp 21-25)

(3) Bernard Shaw in the preface to his "Back to Methuselah" speaks of "the Ulster man who now gives his son an unmerciful thrashing if the boy is so tactless as to ask how the evening and the morning could be the first day before the sun was created".

(4) "Scientifically, it might be suggested that it made little difference whether the sun moved around the earth or the earth around the sun, yet the tortured story of Giordano Bruno's vacillation during his trial shows the extent of that contrast in terms of contemporary philosophy. The discoveries of Newton, and the birth of modern physics, struck another blow at the old philosophy by entirely removing God from the universe. It was not the angels who guided the planets, but the force of gravity." (Dr. F. Cyril James, Principal and Vice-Chancellor, McGill University, in "Science and Society", *The Scientific Monthly*, July, 1941)

"Reflecting on the different manner of going of these moving ways, Selencus became of the opinion in this Island that the earth turns round about its poles, and not the heavens, whatever we may think to the contrary, as when we are on the River Loire, we think the trees on the bank move. However, they do not move, but we do, by the floating down of the boat." [Rabelais, last book]

"The system of Selencus [fictional character] is that which Copernicus expounded in 1543. Rabelais declares that the earth turns on its poles; in his time this was novel and daring. More than a century later Pascal was not so well informed, and up to the end of the eighteenth century in France the handbooks of cosmography for use in schools taught the system of Ptolemy, giving that of Copernicus as a pure hypothesis." (Anatole France, "Rabelais", Holt, 1929, p 230)

(5) In commencement addresses one hears much about the search for truth to which the universities are supposedly dedicated. There is not much said about it in September when the undergraduates come back. Some of them might become a

nuisance by uncovering untruths embarrassing to those who are content and secure, and would like to leave well enough alone.

The whole subject of the relation of universities past and present to the abstraction 'Truth' and the search for it has been threshed out in the introductions to the *Handbook of Private Schools*, 1938, pp 45-6; 1939, pp 87-92.

Aldous Huxley, who enjoys no academic salary, perquisite, or pension, disillusioned, has written, "I regard the Search for Truth as the highest of human tasks and the Searchers as the noblest of men. But in the last year or so I have begun to see that this famous Search for Truth is just an amusement . . . a rather refined and elaborate substitute for genuine living. . . . Books and lectures are better sorrow-drowners than drink and fornication; they leave no headache, none of that despairing 'post coitum triste' feeling."

(6) "Robert Baillie, the Scotch commissioner, while in London in Cromwell's time wrote, 'Liberty of conscience, and toleration of all and any religion, is so prodigious an impiety that this religious parliament cannot but abhor the very meaning of it'." And Governor Dudley of Massachusetts wrote, "Let men of God in Courts and Churches watch O're such as do a Toleration hatch, Lest that Ill Egg bring forth a Cockatrice, To poison all with heresie and vice". (Adams, "Emancipation of Massachusetts")

"In the beginning of the fifteenth century many of the ancient dogmas had begun to awaken incredulity, and sceptics learned to mock at that claim to infallibility upon which the priesthood based their right to command the blind obedience of the Christian world. . . . Those who afterward revolted against the authority of the traditions of Rome sought refuge under the shelter of the Bible, which they grew to reverence with a passionate devotion, believing it to have been not only directly and verbally inspired by God, but the only channel through which he had made known his will to men." . . . During the Middle Ages, oppression was, speaking generally, the accepted condition of society, no man not noble having the right in theory, or the power in practice, to control his own actions without interference from his feudal superior." (Adams, p 9)

(7) "In the world's childhood, knowledge seems divine, those who first acquire its rudiments claim, and are believed, to have received it by revelation from the gods. In an archaic age the priest is likewise the lawgiver and the physician, for all erudition is concentrated in one supremely favored class—the sacred caste. Their discoveries are kept profoundly secret, and yet to perpetuate their mysteries among their descendants they found schools which are the only repositories of learning; but the time must inevitably come when this order is transformed into the deadliest enemy of the civilization which it has brought into being. The power of the spiritual oligarchy rests upon superstitious terrors which dwindle before advancing enlightenment; hence the clergy have become reactionary, have sought to stifle the spirit of free inquiry, and have used the schools which they have builded as instruments to keep alive unreasoning prejudice, or to serve their selfish ends." (Adams, p 42)

(8) On a panel on the Johnson Gate at the entrance to the Harvard Yard is

inscribed that famous passage from "New England's First Fruits", published in London in 1643. "After God has carried us safe to New England and wee had builded our houses, provided necessities for our livelihood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship and settled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Church when our present ministers shall 'lie in the Dust'."

(9) As a charter from the King didn't authorize or justify their condemning men to death, they had to kill them by torture. The Vagabond Act of 1661 "provided that any Foreign Quaker, or any native upon a second conviction, might be ordered to receive an unlimited number of stripes. It is important also to observe that the whip was a two-handed implement, armed with lashes made of twisted and knotted cord or catgut." (Adams, p. 138)

Cotton Mather, the dominant divine of New England of the time, writing "to ye aged and beloved, Mr. John Higginson" in 1682, said, "There be now at sea a ship called 'Welcome', which has on board 100 or more of the heretics and malignants called Quakers, with W. Penn, who is the chief scamp, at the head of them. The General Court has accordingly given sacred orders to Master Malachi Huscott, of the brig 'Porpoise', to waylay the said 'Welcome' slyly as near the Cape of Cod as may be, and make captive the said Penn and his ungodly crew, so that the Lord may be glorified and not mocked on the soil of this new country with the heathen worship of these people. Much spoil can be made of selling the whole lot to Barbadoes, where slaves fetch good prices in rum and sugar, and we shall not only do the Lord great good by punishing the wicked, but we shall make great good for His Minister and people. Yours in the bowels of Christ, Cotton Mather." (Quoted by Menninger, "Love Against Hate", from Prof. Robert Phillips' "American Government and Its Problems", Houghton Mifflin, 1941)

(10) Science, biology, with its organic evolutionary understanding of man and all his conceptions, superseded the "Age of Reason". The perfect world was projected into the future toward which progress led us.

"Religion . . . had always insisted upon the validity of reason, since it believed that God was rational. Humanism also had upheld reason as an integral part of the complete man. . . . But now, science turned its attention to sociology and psychology, with alarming results. Sociology minimised the importance of the individual man by presenting history as the study of mass-behaviour, determined by the pressure of economic events. Psychology showed art and religion to be but forms of this behaviour, and, by emphasising the part played in behaviour by instinct and the unconscious, dealt a staggering blow to the sovereign validity of Reason. Thus the final achievement of Reason was to destroy itself." (Sayers)

(11) "The rise of the legal profession in America can be clearly dated from John Adams' boyhood", James Truslow Adams tells us in "The Adams Family" (Little, Brown, 1930). Before that "to be a lawyer was to incur social opprobrium. In 1698, for example, in Connecticut, they were included in discriminatory legislation in company with drunkards and keepers of brothels. In 1730, in Rhode

Island, a law was enacted excluding them from membership in the legislature. In that same year the number allowed to practice in the courts of New York was limited to eight, although there were thirty in the city, many of extremely bad reputation." But between 1740 and 1750 their "rise was rapid. The pulpit gave way to the bar, and the preaching of brimstone was soon to yield to the teaching of Blackstone."

Tracing the course of the Adams family, and the gradual transition from their choice of the ministry to that of the lawyers as a calling for their sons, Truslow Adams reminds us that by "1636, times had become hard in England and all ranks in the population had grown restive. There were, of course, the religious disputes which had brought trouble to many and caused some to seek asylum in other lands. But, in addition to this, life had become suddenly difficult in other ways. There had been a great increase in the cost of living, which had completely upset the domestic economy and habits of a great part of the population. Farm lands had risen enormously in value and in rent, largely as a result of the vast expansion of the cloth trade, which now suffered a severe decline. Taxes and other exactions of the government had been steadily mounting. There were new rich and new poor, a general dislocation of old-established standards and modes of living and of comparative social and economic positions. Between 1620 and about 1640, sixty-five thousand persons emigrated from England for America and the West Indies, without counting the numbers who sought new fortune in Ireland."

Among them were the Adamsses, who remained simple farmers about Quincy until 1735. John, whom they had planned to make a minister, decided to become a lawyer. Of his times we read: "The small colonial world in which young John Adams had to find his way about was in an interesting stage of transition. Elsewhere I have called the decade of 1740 to 1750, which covered the years of his conscious boyhood, 'the Great Divide'. Even in Puritan New England, there had come about, for various reasons, a marked secularizing of life. During the first century of the colony's history the clergy had held almost undisputed sway as leaders of opinion. . . .

"Business was becoming more and more of a career for those desiring power as well as wealth. There had been a notable enlargement of the scale on which it was conducted, whether it were as a shipping merchant, a timber merchant, a speculator in lands and townships, or even a promoter of combinations such as the spermaceti 'trust', as we should call it to-day. The close alliance of the larger business interests and the legislatures was manifest in many ways. We can point to cases at this time in all the New England colonies in which legislation was secured to further the personal interests of groups or individuals."

A "shrewd combination of business and legislative influence" made it possible to "wield genuine power without being in either the pulpit or the General Court". This was the chance for the so-called lawyer. The Adamsses from now on "all studied law and six became members of the bar". That is, the law at this stage takes the place of the clergy in controlling power.

So John Adams became a lawyer. But he soon "discovered that, instead of

Boston's being run by 'the people', 'the Caucus Club' met in 'the garret of Tom Dawes', choosing the town officers 'before they are chosen in the town'. And so began what we call 'popular government'.

(12) "It is the lawyers who run our civilization for us—our governments, our business, our private lives. Most legislators are lawyers; they make our laws. . . . As the schoolboy put it, ours is 'a government of lawyers, not of men'. . . . The whole elaborate structure of industry and finance is a lawyer-made house. We all live in it, but the lawyers run it." (Fred Rodell, Professor of Law, Yale University, in "Woe Unto You, Lawyers!" Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939)

(13) Characteristic is that of Judge Tapping Reeve, who at Litchfield, Connecticut, "in 1784 opened the first Law School in America, which was continued by him and his successor, James Gould, for forty years. Reeve was a man who 'loved law as a science and studied it as a philosopher', and here under his eye he trained the foremost legal lights of the time. Among the graduates of the school were five Cabinet ministers, two Justices of the United States Supreme Court, ten Governors of States, sixteen United States Senators, fifty members of Congress, forty judges of the higher State courts, eight chief justices of the State,—about 1000 in all. Judge Reeve married a granddaughter of Jonathan Edwards and sister of Aaron Burr, and under this roof Burr came to study law upon the interruption of his flirtation with Dorothy Quincy. John C. Calhoun passed three years of his checkered career here. A small wooden building, now on the grounds of the Historical Society, was the law office of Judge Reeve." (Handbook of New England, 3d ed., 1921, pp 316-7)

(14) "Dr. A. J. Carlyle, the eminent historian of political theory, pointed out in 1922, 'The most serious danger of modern society is not, as some very short-sighted critics imagine, the tendency to anarchy, but the desire to find some absolute and final authority. It is the doctrine of absolute authority which is the greatest danger of our time, and it is not less dangerous when it masquerades under the form of democracy.' " (quoted by Wm. Orton, *Sewanee Review*, July-Sept. 1941)

(15) Charles Francis Adams, as ambassador to England during the difficult period of our Civil War, showed stamina in standing up to the supercilious British statesmen. In spite of their eyebrow-raising, he managed to screw out of them fourteen millions in settlement of our Alabama claims. Perhaps the greatest of the family was his father, John Quincy Adams, whose vision saw tremendous possibilities in using our natural resources for the upbuilding of the country. But the Americans were land gamblers, and Jackson made a stronger appeal to them.

(16) Edward Dangler of the Barringer High School, Newark, N. J., has published much interesting and almost forgotten information in regard to Parker's remarkable work at Quincy. Cf "The Consequences of Col. Parker's Educational Philosophy", *Education*, June, 1942; "Father of the Activity Program", *School and Society*, Oct. 24, 1942.

(17) Charles Francis Adams II and his brother J.Q.II "were deeply interested in the town of Quincy, both serving as moderators in town meeting for twenty years. The people practically handed the town administration over to the brothers,

who considered themselves 'bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh'. The town meetings were reduced 'from a mob to a model'. Charles wrote of this service, in which he took great satisfaction and delight, 'I worked with and through my brother, J. Q. Adams. I never was sympathetic or popular; he, somehow, was. He was in close touch with the people of Quincy; me, they were disposed to look at a bit askance. But he and I, in town matters, always acted together. I was much the more active-minded; he was inclined to indolence. But, when set in motion, provided he did not encounter too much opposition, he had a really remarkable faculty of accomplishing results.' Charles was, in reality, the active directing intelligence of the combination, which worked together perfectly. Finding the school system thoroughly antiquated and functioning as badly as rural schools could, they gradually developed a wholly new system which attracted much attention through America and became known as the 'Quincy System', Charles's book on the subject, 'The New Departure in the Common Schools of Quincy', quickly passing through six editions." (James Truslow Adams, "The Adams Family", Little, Brown, 1930)

(18) Charles Francis Adams' "Autobiography" (Houghton Mifflin, 1916), is a rich mine of wisdom. Retiring from his active life as president of the Union Pacific, he wrote, "Indeed, as I approach the end, I am more than a little puzzled to account for the instances I have seen of business success—money-getting. It comes from a rather low instinct. Certainly, so far as my observation goes, it is rarely met with in combination with the finer or more interesting traits of character. I have known, and known tolerably well, a good many 'successful' men—'big' financially—men famous during the last half-century; and a less interesting crowd I do not care to encounter. Not one that I have ever known would I care to meet again, either in this world or the next; nor is one of them associated in my mind with the idea of humor, thought or refinement. A set of mere money-getters and traders, they were essentially unattractive and uninteresting. The fact is that money-getting, like everything else, calls for a special aptitude and great concentration. . . ."

(19) From an article on Parker in the *Journal of the National Education Association*, December, 1937, by Mildred Sandison (Mrs. Fenner), who refers to "an interpretive biography" of Parker by Ida Cassa Heffron, a member of Parker's Cook County School faculty. This book, she writes me, "was published in 1934 by Deach, Jr., Burbank, California, at two dollars a copy".

(20) C. F. Adams, Jr., "The New Departure in the Common Schools of Quincy and Other Papers on Educational Topics" (Estes and Lauriat, Boston, 1879). Adams writes, "The essence of the new system was that there was no system about it;—it was marked throughout by intense individuality. . . . The effect produced by this changed school atmosphere on the children was, however, the point of interest. It showed itself in the way least possible to mistake:—going to school ceased to be a home-sick tribulation." The costs of the Quincy system remained at the average for the state, Adams shows by comparative tables.

(21) From John Dewey's address, "In Memoriam—Col. Parker", delivered at the University of Chicago, March 6, 1902, *Elementary School Teacher*, June, 1902.

(22) County School Superintendent Orville T. Bright states that "There was an ill-arranged and dilapidated school building, a dormitory in like condition; no library to speak of, no science laboratories, shops, studios, or gymnasium—very little apparatus of any kind. Confronted by enemies, a hostile press . . . ignored by the Chicago board of education; hampered by the niggardly and precarious financial support of the school, he [Parker] found in it an excellent opportunity for limitless work, courage, inspiration, and vigorous administration." (Quoted by Mildred Sandison, *Journal of the N.E.A.* Dec., 1937)

Carleton Washburne, Superintendent of the Winnetka Public Schools, returning the proof of this chapter, December 14, 1942, writes me: "The resume of the history of some of the early beginnings of progressive education . . . is accurate and as far as I know the first of its kind to place some of these historical beginnings together. . . . My mother . . . was, without salary, a member of Colonel Parker's faculty in charge of the organization of the parents. . . . I was a pupil at that time in the training school part of the old Cook County Normal School and later in the Chicago Institute which subsequently became the Francis W. Parker School.

"I don't know whether you know this particular bit of history: Colonel Parker's Cook County Normal School was abandoned by the county partly as a result of the bitter opposition of a member of the Board of Education who represented the heirs of the man who had deeded the property to the Cook County Normal School. The deed provided that the land should revert to the heirs if it ceased to be used for a school. The county had good ground for abandoning the school as the city had spread out around it and there was a strong movement to have it taken over by the City of Chicago. My mother went on the staff of the Chicago *Evening Post* and wrote special articles for the *Tribune* in an attempt to save the Normal School and have it taken over by the City. Adroitly avoiding libel, she exposed the machinations of the heirs' representative and she and her co-workers succeeded in getting the City to take over the Normal School, which still is owned and run by the Chicago Board of Education as the Chicago Teachers College.

"Mrs. Emmons Blaine, daughter of Cyrus H. McCormick, had a young son, Emmons, for whom she was considering establishing a little school. Through the boy's tutor she became so much interested in what Colonel Parker was doing and found Colonel Parker so stimulating that she spent a great deal of time at the Chicago Normal School. Mrs. Blaine sought to raise money for a school where Colonel Parker would be free of the trammels of the Chicago Board of Education. To interest her friends and to raise money, she had a series of talks by Colonel Parker and John Dewey at her home on the north side. Dewey's talks were then published in his first educational volume, 'School and Society'. This was the origin of that book.

"It was not her intention to finance the school herself but to her amazement she found that no one was at all interested in contributing anything. She then decided to swing the thing herself. So she set aside a fund sufficient to operate an independent school on the north side for a period of seven years, and to give it land,

building, and equipment. This school was known as the Chicago Institute. Colonel Parker planned with Mrs. Blaine the amount of money and the kind of building that would be necessary and was finally persuaded to accept her offer. He then resigned from the Chicago Normal School, bringing with him most of his faculty. The Chicago Institute had all grades from kindergarten through the two-year normal school, and was at first located in a rented building near the site of the present Francis W. Parker School. Land was bought and plans were made for the new school building.

"When President Harper of the University of Chicago decided to start a school of education, he induced Colonel Parker and Mrs. Blaine to move to the south side of the University. The people on the north side, however, who had had a couple of years of Colonel Parker's kind of education, were loath to lose this kind of schooling for their children. They therefore persuaded Colonel Parker and Mrs. Blaine to leave part of the faculty on the north side, and merely let the teacher-training part of the Chicago Institute, including Miss Flora J. Cooke, go to the University of Chicago. The school on the north side, in buildings furnished by Mrs. Blaine, later became the Francis W. Parker School.

"On the south side at the University Colonel Parker had to have a demonstration school. John Dewey had his little private school in his home at that time and it was agreed to transfer it to the University of Chicago and use it as a nucleus for what then became the University of Chicago Elementary and High School. Colonel Parker headed the whole thing up for a year or two, then died. Miss Cooke then became principal of the Francis Parker School on the north side and John Dewey became head of the School of Education at the University of Chicago.

"While at the Chicago Institute my mother edited Colonel Parker's magazine called the *Course of Study*. This was taken on to the south side with Colonel Parker and became the *Elementary Teacher* and still exists as the *Elementary School Journal*. Miss Cooke was my teacher in first grade at the old Cook County Normal School and I remember personally most of these events. Miss Cooke and I have worked closely together ever since I came to Winnetka and particularly during the last ten years when we have both been on the Board of Directors of the Graduate Teachers College of Winnetka. My mother is still living and is now with me and has given me many interesting sidelights on this early history."

(23) According to a list compiled just before the outbreak of the last war, there were then, in nine countries of Europe and in the United States, thirty-eight of these "New Schools". In the second edition of the *Handbook of Private Schools*, published in 1916, we printed this list, with a brief history of "The New School Movement".

(24) "The Way Out of Educational Confusion" was the title John Dewey took for the Inglis Lecture at Harvard in 1931. This annual lecture, given on invitation by leading thinkers, usually deals with some topic uppermost in the minds of educators at the time. Head and shoulders above the confusion, Dewey saw that in order to lead to a better understanding of our present situation and the way we must go, a complete reorganization of education was necessary.

OUR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Good intentions on the part of our educators have not brought the fruits that satisfy. Their expressed ideals have rarely been carried out in practice. Idealistic palaver, an opiate to tired and frustrated educators, has brought escape from reality. And so we find ourselves in the present wastage and mad confusion, which is due in large part to our inability to realize the trend and adjust ourselves to it.

To the confusion that was already prevalent in the educational world we now have the added chaos of war. With the coming of the catastrophe all the machinery of education has been thrown out of gear as the result of endeavor to quickly adjust it to functions for which it was never planned.

That this war is an incident of revolution long overdue, which might have been brought about gradually as a process of continual adjustment, we, as a people, have only recently become aware. Adolf Berle was the first of the Administration to recognize this. When the invasion of Poland by Germany was announced he remarked, "This is the beginning of the world revolution". (P. and A., July 8, 1940)

Our educators and leaders of opinion are even more affected by the current "hysterical amblyopia", loss of vision induced by fear, than those who are more realistically in contact with events. Little wonder, then, that they have fallen down on their job.

"Higher education has failed our democracy! Arm-chair ignorance or cowardice has avoided all knowledge of the fundamental economic order essential to democracy." It takes the world's great architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, to speak out boldly, as he did July 19, 1941.

As the war clouds thickened and appropriations were diverted from education to war preparation, educators became somewhat jittery, and with the questioning of the efficacy of education, lost faith in what they were doing.

"Can education save the world?" asked Head Master Fuess of Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, at his commencement in 1937. Surveying the sorry state of the world and the threat to our democratic dream, he admitted, "It may possibly be that we have gone too far al-

ready—that nothing can restore the world to sanity. . . . Even education may not save the world, but if it cannot, nothing else can.”

When we speak of ‘saving the world’ or ‘civilization’ we have in mind saving the institutions and privileges to which we are accustomed. For thousands of years man has been chiefly interested in his own salvation. He is no less so now but he has a larger concept, or perhaps, a more hypocritical way of putting it, and speaks of ‘saving the world’ meaning the world he knows, lives in, is comfortable in.

Our educational leaders should have understanding enough to know that the only way any living thing can be saved, continued or perpetuated is by constant modification or adaptation to fit the inevitable changes that are beyond control. The most ancient of human institutions are those that have proved most adaptable.

What a horrible thing it would be to ‘save the world’ as it is. Just imagine the result if our great-grandfathers and their great-great-grandfathers had ‘saved’ for us the world in which they lived. Let us thank God they didn’t but rather had the courage to build a new world for us.

Better than to ‘save our world’ is to play a part, however small, in creating a better world. But we cannot make a better world unless we are prepared to change ourselves, our habits, our points of view, our ways of living, our ways of sharing.

We need leaders that can conceive a better world and guide us toward it, a step at a time without any blueprints but with some vision and much faith. It is a great time for that sort of leadership, for rugged individualism of the right sort.

At about the same time that Headmaster Fuess asked his question, President Hutchins made it clear that our educational system had not provided leaders to help us “save the world”. “The community has had a child-like faith that from institutions of learning some leadership might emerge. The results to date have hardly justified the ecstatic hopes. . . . Taking the country over there is little evidence that its college and university graduates as such have ever done, said, or even thought anything which suggested that they could be singled out to lead the way in improving the education, government, or character of our people.” (1)

And the same year H. G. Wells, putting the past brusquely behind him, warned the British Association, “We have no time to waste if our schools are not to go on delivering year by year fresh hordes of ignorant, unbalanced and uncritical minds, at once suspicious and credulous, weakly gre-

garious, easily baffled and easily misled, into the monstrous responsibilities and dangers of this present world. More cannon fodder and stuff for massacres and stampedes."

Too late, Eric Temple Bell deemed it the following year, 1938, declaring, "Education in the past century has been trusted by the majority of people as few other remedies for human stupidity have ever been trusted, and the outcome has been a let-down that has rocked civilization to its roots and all but jarred humanity's back teeth loose from its massive skull." (2)

The American people have come to look on education, once confined to the few, as their natural right. Their faith has been that education and more education would prove the panacea not only for the individual but for the nation. They have seen schoolhouses and colleges become a familiar feature of the landscape.

Education has become a fetish, a symbol to which like primitive minds they attach protective powers. As to the kind of education they were getting they have not been keenly critical. Confused, they have accepted the husks. Their insistence has been that they should have what others have had, believing that therein lay 'equality of opportunity'.

To what in apology we call education, parents have sacrificed their savings and their offspring. It was important to them that their children be subjected to the institutional processes, the "prescribed forms of stultification".

Bitterly we have come to doubt the value of all this. For it is the 'educated', not the common people, who are telling us that we must sacrifice our savings and our children to the great god War, in order that morality and civilization "may not perish from the earth".

The founders of our country knew, preached and wrote that the system of representative government could be made to work only if we had a people educated and trained to that end. But we have not been faithful to the trust the founders placed in us. We have been busy exploiting a continent. We have allowed ourselves, as well as our natural resources, to be stupidly exploited. We have not made our education democratic. And we have let our democratic government become a tool of exploitation, of monopoly, of corruption and graft. Our education has almost necessarily been of a kind to stultify and blind us to these things.

Now the time of awakening is at hand. It looks as though we must face reality or cease to be a democratic people. With everything chang-

ing about us, the future will belong to those who are prepared for it. What that preparation should be depends upon the immediate situation. In the present state of the world, what we do with children and youth is vastly more important than in quiescent, 'normal' times.

The people of England are stirred with idealistic dreams as twenty years ago. We Americans have not suffered as yet and our hopes and dreams, so far as we have them, are still vague. The English talk much about improving education. As yet we, in America, have given only feeble response to the idealistic hopes for reconstruction that have come from the religious and educational spokesmen of England.

To serve as liaison between the English and the American groups interested in educational reconstruction after the war, Dr. Reinhold Schairer, Lecturer in Comparative Education at the University of London, at the instance of Professor Fred Clarke of the same, came to the United States, President MacCracken tells us in the *Vassar Alumnae Magazine* for December, 1940. Dr. Schairer, who left Germany in 1933, had been connected with various student services. "In September, the American group met for two days under the chairmanship of Dr. Frank Aydelotte, at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, and organized for co-operation with the British Committee on Educational Reconstruction."

"The New Education Fellowship, 26-year-old international organization of Progressive Educators, convening for the first time in the Western Hemisphere", at Ann Arbor, in July, 1941, was "bright with intense sunshine and the chatter of 1,800 delegates from 22 nations", *Time* reported, July 21, 1941. For expatriate Reinhold Schairer, who had had a grant from Rockefeller, it was the culmination of four years of planning. He finds in the Danish Folk School much inspiration. (3)

Reconstruction will fail "unless it is also education. . . . Hitlerism cannot be permanently defeated on the field of battle alone, but only in the hearts and minds of men", the organization concluded. Each nation, it was suggested, must be prepared with "carefully thought out schemes", to ward off the threat of unemployment, "schemes suitable to its domestic circumstances".

So the idealists, without consideration of the actual forces that can retard or sabotage their efforts, continue to plan to remake the world and education with it. But their efforts are feeble. While their heads are in the clouds, their feet are not solidly planted on this earth on which they must live and which they hopefully plan to remake. (4)

Here, for example, is Meiklejohn floating "between two worlds", familiar with the world that has passed but not comfortable in it, hoping for an ideal world that is only a dream. His two worlds are those of Matthew Arnold, "one dead, the other powerless to be born". Arnold's attitude of somber sadness contrasts with the heralding exhilaration of O'Shaughnessy's "Each age is a dream that is dying, or one that is coming to birth".

Meiklejohn, a classicist and a philosopher, here earnestly attempts to relate "the dilemma of Western civilization to the failures of public education". While cognizant of the passing scene, of changes technological and scientific, his interest is in philosophies and theories that may help understanding. Characteristic of the working of his mind is his prophecy that "the war will end when the intellectual problem which underlies it has been clearly seen and, relatively speaking, solved".(5)

This turning organic and biological adaptive processes into purely intellectual problems so as to seek a final solution is in the tradition of the Western mind, characteristic of the desire for salvation by the easiest possible road. And still we are constantly 'facing problems', we say, which means we are trying to find easy and final solutions. So we find ourselves in 'dilemmas'. We try to work out 'problems' that have shaped up out of the messes we have gotten into.

Had our leaders shown us how we might have adapted ourselves and gradually modified our ways and adjusted them to our fellows (that's the golden rule) we might have avoided these 'dilemmas' and not concocted these 'problems'. They arise from our failure to respond to the inevitable, call it 'Nature's way', 'God's command', what you wish.

Like Plato and St. Augustine, Meiklejohn hopes for a blueprint for the perfect future state and a theory of education that will solve all intellectual and biological problems for all times.

This craving for security and hope for finality is a hangover from the child's reliance on an authoritarian father. To those who have in some measure been liberated, this attitude seems subversive to freedom, to deprive one of the joy of adventuring, of the thrill of seeing each day's dawn bring possibilities for new experiences, new discoveries. For those thus freed from the 'father' concept, from authority, from fate, from finality, the road stretches ahead ever new, ever changing, ever challenging their courage. They scorn security, deny finality, and want no perfection. They delight in the challenge and the exhilaration of living, with

all the dangers it brings.

We lack educational leaders to guide us along this road. But from industry and applied science comes one to inspiringly urge us forward. C. F. Kettering, General Motors millionaire, inventor of the self-starter, the fever machine, and scores of devices, whips us to action,—“We ought to quit being afraid of the future. Change is the law of life. We should work with change instead of being forced into it. All our education teaches finality.”

The “chief glory” of life for those who travel this road will be to help cast off man’s long cherished fetters. To ensure, as John Haynes Holmes in *Unity*, Jan., 1943, puts it, “that education shall quicken and not kill, release and not imprison, the ever new-born soul of man”,—this is their “task not yet achieved”.

NOTES

(1) “The chief contribution of the American academic world toward the defeat of fascism this last year has been the signing of large advertisements calling upon the President to act”, satirically remarks a writer in the *New Republic*, July 21, 1941, and adds, “The chief beneficiary has been the new-business department of the *New York Times*”.

Our educational leaders have failed us before, at the outbreak of the last war and at the treaty making. As Wells has put it (*Harpers*, April, 1937), “There were the universities, great schools, galaxies of authorities, learned men, experts, teachers gowned, adorned, and splendid. . . . This higher brain, this cerebrum, this gray matter of America was so entirely unco-ordinated that it had nothing really comprehensive, searching, thought-out, and trustworthy . . . to go upon.”

(2) Eric Temple Bell, philosopher, poet, novelist, past president of the Mathematical Association of America, and for fifteen years professor at the California Institute of Technology, in “Man and His Lifebelts” (Reynal and Hitchcock, 1938), demonstrated that all the lifebelts to which man had entrusted his salvation in the past had let him down. He suggested we put aside the fetishes and go back to common sense. His keen Scotch mind playing over the subject leads him to believe that all man has is what is called science, which merely means the use of his senses to observe and correlate, to make shrewder guesses and to reject them as he finds them false, so as to make better ones.

One of H. G. Wells’ characters reviews the education of recent decades: “All this ‘canned teaching’ will provoke Mr. Chamble Pewter’s rich sense of humour. I doubt if that will deter those angry rebels who have got their hands upon the levers, and are determined to let the children see and hear and know and hope. Not in any mood of love or that sort of thing, but because they hate the pomp and glories of incapable authority. . . .

“When we think of reconditioning the mind of mankind, we need not be dis-

mayed by a vision of ill-lit stuffy classrooms and millions of half-trained teachers struggling with blackboard and tattered text-book to 'teach' scores of millions of children. In a world of plenty all that will be different, and modern apparatus—radio, screen, gramophone and the like—affords the possibility of an enormous economy of teaching ability. One skilful teacher or demonstrator can teach from pole to pole, just as Toscanini can conduct Brahms for all the world to hear, and at the same time go on record for our children's children. . . .

"It may be that we want a new word for a system of knowledge-distribution that aims only to inform and put everything that is known within the reach of every individual man. Mr. H. D. Jennings White would sweep away the word 'education' altogether, as a tainted word, and have us talk of 'Eutrophy', good nourishment of body and mind, and then let free men decide. A Eutrophic world from which priest and pedagogue have been swept as unnecessary evils is quite within the range of human possibility." (Quoted from Wells' "You Can't Be Too Careful: A Sample of Life, 1901-1951", Putnam's, 1942)

(3) Dr. Schairer "in a recent pamphlet, 'Strategy of Education in the European Crisis' . . . points to the educational reconstruction of Denmark under Grundtvig as the model which all Europe must adopt for reconstruction after the period of destruction now in full sway." Oxford and Cambridge he believes have lost their leadership, and the changing viewpoint of the middle classes in Britain will change the formalism of education, more, he hopes, along the lines of the progressive educators of France who are known as 'Les Compagnons'.

(4) "A stubborn conflict goes on between two irreconcilable conceptions and realities of education. One is not afraid of any knowledge and 'fights in defense of mystery-dispelling knowledge and of intellectual liberty', and the other is 'traditional and sacrosanct', which 'crushes intellectual liberty when it can, . . . hates the scientific knowledge of nature with implacable hatred, for that knowledge exposes magic and discredits it'. Present-day education is 'deplorably infected with superstition and is systematically occult'. Our education has failed in its highest task." (Joseph S. Roucek, "Some Contributions of Sociology to Education", in Barnes, Becker, Becker, "Contemporary Social Theory", Appleton, 1940, quoting F. H. Giddings, "The Mighty Medicine")

Roucek's "Sociological Foundations of Education" (Crowell, 1942) is a textbook made up of chapters contributed chiefly by teachers of educational sociology. The titles cover the ground with completeness, but textbook use and wartime exigencies have exerted a check upon the writers so that they have made relatively little use of the material referred to in the footnotes and bibliography.

(5) Alexander Meiklejohn's long career in education, as president of Amherst, as innovator at Wisconsin, has kept him in the front rank of 'liberals'. In "Education Between Two Worlds" (Harper, 1942), by way of Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, James and Dewey he arrives at the conclusion that education, once the function of the church, is to be wholly taken over by the state. The present "dilemma" is due to the transition. He hopes to find "a continuous purpose which runs through the course of human experience".

'REFORMING' STATIC EDUCATION

In England and America as well, this war like the last has brought an awareness of the shortcomings of education. Our faith in education has been shaken. Such awakenings, occurring periodically, have usually been followed by a spasmodic effort at reform and then a final settling back into the old form. Earnest, enthusiastic efforts by clear-eyed idealists to remake education to their heart's desire, for the benefit of the next generation, have repeatedly come to naught. But as they act as safety valves they are permitted to blow off steam.

How this comes about has only recently become apparent as we have been able to obtain a broader view of education as a social process. For this we owe much to the comparative view that has been brought us by the anthropologists. Their study of the social scene among many peoples has given a new trend and zest to sociology. As we understand education as an element of the culture by which youth is conditioned to carry on, as we realize that education cannot be changed except as we change society, the social structure, our way of life,—we may be able more effectively to re-form our educational practices.

"Before we can suggest reforms of our education the dominant social forces of our time must be considered. Educational change cannot occur in isolation from society: it must be directed towards certain social ends and designed to bring education into line with a changing social environment. . . . But in practice, educational methods may become unrelated to the social background and this has certainly happened in our contemporary civilisation," declare Humby and James in "Science and Education" (Camb., 1942), who quote from Leach's "Educational Charters":

"In nothing, not even in Religion, has the innate conservatism of the human race been more marked than in education. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the subjects and the methods of education remained the same from the days of Quintilian to the days of Arnold, from the first century to the mid-nineteenth century of the Christian era."

All through that period language was the chief subject of instruction. To the complicated grammar of obsolete tongues were ascribed the virtues of character building. (1) Knowledge of the world about was little

valued by those whose eyes were set on heaven. It was words that occupied the attention of scholastics. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was . . . God." Into what quagmires we have floundered through this neglect of reality and the obsession with symbols tossed back and forth, has only recently been revealed by the development of the study of general semantics.

The revolt against the Church and its teachings brought the Reformation, from which came the Nonconformist schools of the time. They stood for a new attitude, an approach to reality. "If this school of thought had a key idea of culture, the word to express it would be Science rather than Language." To this "we must relate . . . the Royal Society . . . the inventions of the eighteenth century . . . the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution, and . . . the modes of thought which gave rise to the revolutions in America and in France".(2)

Transplanted to the New World, the academies and the scientific attitude took root and flourished. In spite of the significant difference in the content of the curriculum, they were looked upon as a means of supplying culture for the inferior classes. This change in accent little affected the great Public Schools of England or the private schools modeled on them which began to be established in America by the middle of the 19th century.

The prejudiced distinction between liberal or cultural, and technological education continues to persist, just as it did when it was pointed out in the Report of the Bryce Commission in 1895. Parliamentary commissions of 1864 and 1868 revealed that "the education of the upper classes, of the future governors and administrators of the country, was for all practical purposes the same as it had been since the fifteenth century", Humby and James tell us.

The defenders of classical education, "feeling that their curriculum was . . . out of touch with the current needs of the world . . . evolved the conception of 'culture for its own sake' that has had such a deleterious effect on the whole of English intellectual life from 1900 onwards".

The advocates of the teaching of science, on the other hand, have "rarely dared to claim for it a virtue as an essential educational instrument comparable with the old studies". In our schools science is still apologetically offered because of its 'practical' value, contributory to technology, a subject for artisans, not for scholars.(3)

Except in the modern progressive school and the western high school,

scientists have been recruited largely from those who are not good in the classical curriculum. They have seen the better men, as measured by linguistic standards, go on to preferment. Those who got poor grades turned toward the practical or scientific course. Regarded as culls or leftovers, most of them suffered from an inferiority complex in the presence of classical scholars. This is made apparent both by Humby and James and by David Lindsay Watson in "Scientists Are Human" (Watts, London, 1938).

This distinction between the cultural and scientific permeates from the upper schools to the lower. In both, science so-called is only for the linguistically inept. As a preparatory school's prospectus recently put it, "For those boys having no aptitude for classics . . . a science course is provided". This attitude is likewise true in the most desired American private schools. Where courses are provided for the non-linguistic, it is likely to be from the school's point of view a condescension to inferiority. As this new knowledge is not regarded as on an equality with the 'humanities', one should not expect the teaching or the teacher to be.

"Latin still occupies the predominant place in the curriculum of most Public Schools. . . . During the seven years which he usually spends at his preparatory school and his public school . . . he will have spent at least 147 term periods on Latin." (5)

The Public Schools "are still largely responsible for the education of our governing classes. . . . The recruits for the higher ranks of the professions, the civil service and politics are still largely drawn from a fairly small group of schools, represented on the Headmasters' Conference. . . .

"If we examine the careers of the 17 most senior civil servants we find 12 educated at Public Schools. . . . Of 27 generals or lieutenant-generals, 17 were educated at Public Schools. . . . Of 36 High Court judges, 30 were educated at Public Schools. . . . Of 43 bishops, 37 were educated at Public Schools" (Humby and James). (4)

"The modern civil servant has had to face the administration of industry, of transport, of public health and of labour in a world created by forces that his education did nothing to lead him to understand. . . . It is extremely unlikely that the average administrator over fifty years of age will have acquired at school any knowledge of scientific method or of the achievements or possibilities of scientific knowledge."

Advancement has been based on "the same criteria as would have been applied in 1400". Not so long a lapse is evidenced in American Church

Schools, modeled on the English Public School, which have doubtless been stimulated by their environment. The men who today handle our great affairs, governmental, financial, in America as in England, many conditioned in these upper class schools, have had little training in science and have less understanding of the scientific method.

As education is the process of conditioning the young to our way of life, to our culture, to our social system, it follows that one cannot 'reform' education or change it without changing the social system of which it is a part. That is a very new idea in the world. In our great universities there are departments of government and of education. But in what university in this country do they consider that there is anything in common between the two? And yet if one looked at Japan or Germany there would be no question. Our academic outlook is narrow and restricted. We lack the broad comparative view.

Our American form of representative government was designed to make it possible to change periodically those who administer the government, to bring to office in rotation new men. The American ideal of equality has extended to the belief that all men are capable of filling any office. For long it was almost a necessary qualification for office that the candidate had gone barefoot, for the presidency that he had been born in a log cabin.

This traditional American faith that we can adapt our government to change by rotating men in office no longer satisfies. Of late there has spread a feeling or belief that there are men in the background who exert an influence over those who are nominated for us to rubber stamp at the election booth. As our social system is at present constituted and administered, it is now evident that it cannot be changed without changing those who maintain it.

NOTES

(1) "As the statutes of Winchester College (1382) say: 'Experience, the mistress of all things, plainly teaches that grammar is the foundation, gate and source of all the other liberal arts. . . . By the knowledge of grammar, justice is cultivated and prosperity of the estate of humanity is increased'." (Humby and James, "Science and Education")

(2) Professor Clarke in his book "Education and Social Change", speaking of the Nonconformist Academies, notes that "Like the ruling class, they thought of education in terms of culture, but with a significant difference in content". (Quoted by Humby and James)

(3) "Of the segregations of educational values, that between culture and utility is probably the most fundamental. While the distinction is often thought to be intrinsic and absolute, it is really historical and social. It originated, so far as conscious formulation is concerned, in Greece, and was based on the fact that the truly human life was lived only by the few who subsisted upon the results of the labour of others. . . . The two distinctions, psychological and political, translated into educational terms, effected a division between a life of leisure devoted to knowing for its own sake, and a useful, practical training for mechanical operations, devoid of intellectual and aesthetic content." (John Dewey, "Democracy and Education", quoted by Humby and James)

(5) Humby and James go on to observe that science study "is started very late and the valuable phase of intense curiosity about the world which is usually shown by boys of 12 and 13 is not directed towards any form of science. . . . A Public School boy of 15 or 16 will probably have spent 18 term periods on science and about 150 such periods on Latin."

Even a boy who has "specialised" in science will often have studied only 30 term periods, though the Thomson Committee (1918) recommended 66 term periods between the ages of 12 and 16. "For the same period even the Spens Report, which is scarcely generous in its allowance of time to science, gives 105 term periods to science and mathematics for a 'normal' course. . . .

"Some sections of science appeal to the boy of 14 more than to the youth of 17; others are unintelligible if taken at too young an age."

(4) "The universities imposed a proud defensive pedantry upon the whole scholastic scheme. The quintessence of learning was the boring grammatical study of these dead and eviscerated languages, and every boy of the social classes that were allowed education, had either to submit himself to these unattractive disciplines or be condemned as unfitted for further learning. . . . In academic and clerical circles there have been quite a number of infant prodigies who acquired Greek, Latin and Hebrew before their teens and never learnt anything more for the rest of their lives. That submissive facility gives one the typical scholarship-boy and the college don, the mandarin of the western world, and until very recently it has been the gauge through which everyone who wanted to play a part in the mental life of mankind had to pass. Even resistant and unwilling boys were beaten and broken into it. They were punished for wool gathering and a wandering mind. They were driven remorselessly along the narrow track of the school-master's ignorance.

"One delightful necrophile—I regret I made no note of his name at the time—a Dean of some sort at Winchester, emboldened by the general consensus of the clerical mandarin displayed in *The Times*, wrote a short and valiant letter out of the abysmal ignorance of his study, declaring that civilisation as he knew it would be lost unless the teaching of the dead languages was once more made the one and only basis of higher education in our country. . . . But the sooner civilisation as he knew it is lost, the better." (H. G. Wells, "Phoenix: A Summary of the Inescapable Conditions of World Reorganisation", Secker and Warburg, 1942)

MAINTAINING THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

The English, not unnaturally, look down somewhat superciliously on the methods of American democracy and its crude, untrained representatives. Not without reason they proudly boast that their rulers have long been selected from an hereditary class and especially trained for their function in the Public Schools. This upper caste, moreover, is permeable from below by capable and ambitious men. Labour Party members, as they acquire power and influence, have in recent years been taken in and conditioned.(1)

Inveighing against this caste system, Professor John Hilton of Cambridge University in 1938 reported that 52 of 56 bishops, 19 of 24 deans, 122 of 156 county court judges and recorders, 152 of 210 civil servants paid more than £1000 annually, and 20 of 21 cabinet ministers are Public School men. "To get a place in these 'reserved stalls'", he says, "you must have been at the right school and be entitled through life to wear the right school tie".(2)

Stanley Baldwin, when called to form a Government, expressed the hope that his "should be a Government of which Harrow should not be ashamed", and called to his ministry six old Harrovian school-chums, as reported in "The Breeding Ground of Imperialism". (Cf Handbook of Private Schools, 1937-38, pp 109-11)

Parliament, too, is recruited from the same class, the House of Lords particularly from the landed gentry. But even in the Commons, the majority wear the 'old school tie'. And it takes money to be elected. The present House of Commons holds over from the election of 1935. A survey of the members and their connections was published in London in 1939 under the title "Tory M.P.". Of the 415 M.P.'s 100 were educated at Eton, where the cost is about \$1500 a year. 180 were corporation directors. Insurance companies were represented by 47, finance companies by 27, banks by 16, breweries by 11. 59 members held 108 directorships in heavy industries and munitions. 13 controlled amusements like the Greyhound Racing Association, which paid 40% dividends in 1938.(3)

The great Public Schools of England are the training ground almost essential to attain position among the men that carry on in the Govern-

ment or the Church. (4) To get his son admitted is the first purpose of the ambitious and rising father.

Many of these Public Schools, originally founded as charity schools, have gradually modified their practices and policy through the centuries to meet the new needs. While the Empire was developing and prospering, the Public Schools were held in great veneration as the breeding grounds of imperialism. But there have been periods when they have fallen behind, when opinion has been strong against them, when they have been the subject of venomous attack.

The most scholarly, exhaustive study of the changes in public opinion in England of its Public Schools and the changes that have resulted within the Schools, is Edward C. Mack's "Public Schools and British Opinion", the first volume of which, published in England by Methuen, 1938, covered the period from 1780-1860.

This notable contribution not merely to education but to the history of Empire, was reviewed in the Handbook of Private Schools for 1938-39. Six pages were given to review of Mack's first volume, covering the "Anachronistic Survivals" in school practices, the "Historical Significance" of the schools, the fact that they are "Not So Honorably Ancient" as they would lead us to believe, the story of their increase and multiplication "With the Blessing of the Church", and how they came to be "Schools for Imperialists", with the growth and development of a trading class who "Wanted to be Gentlemen".

Mack's second volume, published in the fall of 1941 by Columbia University Press, was reviewed in the 1941-42 Handbook in connection with recent articles in British educational periodicals. Again six pages were given to a consideration of the Public Schools as "Symbol and Portent", their "Glorious Past", the criticism of them as "A Breeding Ground of Snobbery", the "Counter Propaganda" in praise of them, and the possibilities for "Saving the Public Schools".

Both American and English reviewers have neglected Mack's great work. The professors and the journals of political science, sociology, and education have ignored it. And yet his interpretations are basic to understanding of their subjects. As a consequence, four years after publication of the first volume the author reported to me that only four hundred copies of it had been distributed.

It was not until May, 1942, that "F.C." (Professor Fred Clarke?) presented in the London *Times* Educational Supplement an adequate review,

appreciation, and expression of gratitude to this "obviously friendly and sympathetic American scholar. It will be long before our debt to him be adequately measured, still less repaid. The best tribute now would be for everyone who can to get hold of the volumes and read them with the care they deserve and with the searchings of heart they will almost certainly provoke. . . . It is impossible to demonstrate the thoroughness, the command of knowledge, and the judicial power with which Dr. Mack leads up to and supports his conclusions. He is no pamphleteer or busybody, no passionate defender or prejudiced enemy. He would seem to be rather the most thoroughgoing and most comprehensive student and critic of the English public school that has yet found expression in the English language."

Mack's review of English opinion on their Public Schools makes his work much more than a book on education. It brings us to an examination of the foundation of Britain's social life and the growth of imperialism. Only through an understanding of the institution that has formed England's statesmen and empire builders can one comprehend their ways of thought. And these men have long held the power of peace and war in the hollow of their hands. Today the peoples of the world are spending countless lives and exhausting their wealth to maintain the purposes of these men and the structure of the empire that they have built. What then is more important than to understand these Public Schools that have formed these men who are responsible? And they have long awaited this critical interpretation.

It is to Mack we owe understanding of the social significance of the English Public School "as the expression in education of the psychological, economic, and other forces that determined general and especially upper-class behavior". Due to him, we may now understand "the present nature of the school system which still educates a majority of England's upper-class youth" and the "forces which have governed British history".

Mack writes not in praise or dispraise of the Public School, but "by way of a critical understanding of the nature of its evolution, of the forces which have governed its development at various periods, and of the manner in which these pressures have translated themselves into Public School ideals and practices. . . . Public Schools have always responded, despite their inherent conservatism, to the pressure of historic forces. . . .

Contrary to the generally accepted view, few of these schools are

ancient. Those few were established as eleemosynary schools for poor boys. But as they multiplied and became anchored in the social structure, they put on a comouflage of great antiquity and maintain it by boast of their changeless traditional practices.

As the merchant class, growing in importance and wealth, gradually crowded in, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Public Schools adapted themselves to the change and profited thereby. The aristocratic element of the 19th century were largely derived from this earlier merchant class. With the growth of empire, new families of fortune continued to feed the Public Schools, whose prosperity was largely due to the desire of these to acquire the education of gentlemen. All these developments Mack discloses discretely and discreetly.

"The English Public School of the late nineteenth century became directly a training ground for the leaders and servants of the Empire. In a sense this is what the schools had always been, but from the fifties on they were more exclusively, intensely, and effectively so. . . . For the schools the new imperialism was all important."

Imperialism became the *de facto* religion of the English people after Disraeli and under Joe Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes. The Public Schools accepted this as their own, and responded to the law of supply and demand. They took in those successful in trade, Scots who to Dr. Johnson were loathsome creatures, Catholics who were deprived of civil benefits until the middle of the 19th century, and later Jews, Armenians, Syrians, Levantines, the shrewd and acquisitive traders who continued to sluice the wealth of the world into the coffers of the Empire.

Of his second volume Mack wrote me, Aug. 3, 1941, "It deals with the reforms of the sixties that supplemented the work of Dr. Arnold; the wave of adulation in the seventies and eighties; and the rise of another great reform movement in the period from 1890 to 1926. A new wave of conservatism arose around 1926 and lasted until the war shattered it. My concern has been primarily with the way in which psychological, social, and economic forces have affected (or failed to affect) Public School practice and ideology in alternating periods of reform and stagnation. The adjustment to the nineteenth century world of business and colonial exploitation was completed about 1870. Adjustment to the twentieth century world had not in any real sense been achieved as late as 1939."

Sir Cyril Norwood, of Oxford, former head master of Harrow, is per-

haps the most voluminous writer in support of the Public Schools. Naturally he receives considerable attention from Mack in his second volume. Norwood maintained that it is to the Public Schools that England owes "the acquisition, maintenance, and development of our Empire" not by "conquest and exploitation", but for "trusteeship, development, and growth".(5)

But Mack, reviewing the situation exhaustively, declares, "Obviously the Public Schools . . . have not been chiefly responsible for what has happened to the world. But they have . . . been important contributing factors. . . . Certainly one has the impression of disastrous bungling, inefficiency, and lack of vision in high places, and for these sins the public schools can hardly be completely freed from blame."(6)

The ebb and flow of the tides of opinion for and against the Public Schools are followed by Mack. Just before 1939, "eulogistic articles and books reached unprecedented heights. . . .

"Many Englishmen, imbued with terror at the increasing signs of external and internal disaster and unwilling or unable to make further concessions to labor, were growing averse to change. . . . The tendency was to return to traditional beliefs . . . to a Toryism strengthened and modified by the adhesion of right-wing labor; and to the educational ideals of the past, shorn of old abuses."

But in spite of their policy, enrollment continued to drop from 1929 to 1938,—Harrow from 661 to 522. "Even before the war, in July, 1939, head masters and governing bodies were frightened into holding a conference to discuss ways and means of dealing with falling attendance. . . .

"Indeed the suspicion began to arise among radicals that the conservatives were not interested in reforming the public schools for the good of the nation, but merely in saving them financially at public expense, and were willing to take poor boys only because of a 'regrettable regulation about public funds'."

The willingness of the Public School conservatives to compromise failed to placate the iconoclasts, who hit harder than ever.

As late as April, 1939, Cyril Connolly, bitter at the years he had spent under the "feudal regime of Eton . . . wrote . . . the 'experiences undergone by boys at the great public schools, their glories and disappointments, are so intense as to dominate their lives, and to arrest their development. From these it results that the greater part of the ruling class remains adolescent, school-minded, self-conscious, cowardly, sentimental,

and in the last analysis, homosexual'. . . (7)

"E. M. Forster could write, in the middle thirties, 'as generation after generation of sensitive boys record their experiences in them, one marvels why the boarding house system continues at all, and why the middle classes still insist on so much discomfort for their children at such expense to themselves.' " (Mack, II, pp 441-2)

In his "Challenge to Schools" Calder-Marshall wrote, "The interests of the Public Schools coincide with the vested interests of all those institutions sheltering under the capitalist system. . . . Punch-loving, tail-wagging, helping-blind-men-across-streets-and-lame-dogs-over-stiles public school men can't stand it for ever. They have to go out and have a good prod with a bayonet once in a while." (8)

But the sentimental return repeatedly in defense. For them "the public schools symbolize a moment of security in a world of change". James Hilton, creator of "Mr. Chips", in the *Atlantic*, July, 1938, admitting that, "There was a time when . . . it was possible to decry the public schools as the bulwark of a system that had had its day, to attack them for their creation of a class snobbery, to lampoon their play-the-game fetish and their sedate philistinism", adds, "I do not object to being called a sentimentalist. . . . I do not need to apologize for being an ex-public-school boy."

F. S. Marvin in "The Nation at School", 1933, held "that 'the public school tradition is a useful safeguard' against 'extremes of individualist divergence' ". And Sir Arnold Wilson, who never returned from a flight in the first days of this war, in 1934 maintained "that attack on tradition leads by reaction to totalitarianism". Donald Hughes' "The Public Schools and the Future" (Cambridge University Press, 1942) "purports to be a defence. . . . It extols the value of the school chapel where, in the peaceful seclusion of the boarding school, pupils—uncontaminated by their parents—may be guided into the faith", remarks Dr. C. M. Fleming, reviewing the book in the *Journal of Education*, Sept., 1942, who believes that all virtues are not "to be acquired only at boarding schools run for private profit".

Meanwhile the disconcerting successes of the new experimental schools were thrust before the eyes of the embattled eulogists and iconoclasts. The spread in England of this world progressive movement and the attack of its supporters on the Public Schools are adequately reviewed by Mack. (9)

"Believers in progressive education, Pekin, Mortimer, Curry, Eric Rodgers, and Badley . . . reiterated . . . public schools were sinks of competitiveness, brutality, reactionary social teaching, class snobbery, Philistinism, perversions resulting from suppression, ignorance, and mental deadness, places where games were worshiped, masters were sadists, and individuality and beauty were crushed."

William B. Curry, Headmaster of Dartington Hall, Devon, and formerly of the Oak Lane School, Philadelphia, "vehemently attacked 'conventional education' . . . in which, through . . . thwarting, corporal punishment, and the appeal to good form, boys were made inflexible and intolerant".

Badley denounced his own school, Rugby, for upholding "the brand of imperialism which is only another name for rule without sympathy or understanding, and readiness to seek in force the solution of all difficulties".

The clash of these varied interests for the control of education, for the conditioning of the next generation, for the control of human beings, for possession of power, and their varied ideals and methods, can only be understood against the background of great economic and social changes, —the struggle of labor against entrenched privilege.(10)

Manpower was enhanced in relative importance in the first World War. Labor had to be deflated. Recalling the craft of Baldwin and the devious part played by Churchill in leading labor into the trap of the General Strike, Mack remarks, "Though labor was temporarily crushed in 1926, the threat of revolution still existed. Finally, and most important, the world situation grew immeasurably darker from 1927 on. England was faced not only by a mesh of tariff barriers, but also by the threat of war from nations reinvigorated with a burning faith in national glory, and in force as the means to secure it."

"The British oligarchy, demoralised and slack with the accumulated wealth of a century of advantage, bought off social upheaval for a time by the deliberate and socially demoralising appeasement of the dole. It has made no adequate effort to employ or educate these surplus people; it has just pushed the dole at them. It even tries to buy off the leader of the Labour Party with a salary of £2000 a year. . . . The British Empire . . . keeps on trying to stave off its inevitable dissolution and carry on upon the old lines—and apparently it will do that until it has nothing more to give away." So exclaimed H. G. Wells in his "New World

Order". (Secker and Warburg, 1940)

With political acumen born of long management of many peoples, the rulers of England brought to heel the labor leaders, put MacDonald into knee breeches, Philip Snowden in the ermine, later to be denounced as traitors by staunch labor leaders. The people once more learned that they must kneel to those in power.

Bernard Shaw recently declared (AP, July 27, 1942), "Unless we restrict eligibility for public office—now open to every adventurer and ignoramus—to panels of qualified persons . . . and sovietize our political machinery . . . our future state will be as hopeless as our past, and all labor and socialist parties on earth will be as helpless as Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden were when they reached the treasury bench after wasting half their lives trying to get there."

"The Anthony Edens, and not the Ramsay MacDonalds, are the men to whom the country looks in a crisis", Mack quotes the *American Mercury*, May, 1936. "Is England threatened? The men whose fathers own England will die for it if necessary and the Have-Nots will follow them, hurrahing and heedless of death." (11)

That a great social revolution is under way has been the recent discovery in England as in America. Such a declaration would have been considered radical and subversive only a year or two ago. But today we had learned that the first World War was only the first stage of this long delayed change. How long it will be resisted, how far it will go, will depend upon who sits at the controls.

In England there is much criticism of the Tory leaders. The Public Schools are a target of abuse. Tobruk, they say, was lost on the fields of Eton. The 'old school tie' no longer carries prestige, but it is still a tie that binds. (12)

The British educational journals for two years have been filled with letters and editorials attacking and defending. But the defense grows stale and weakens. Osbert Sitwell sees no good in the Public Schools and speeds them on their way. In a satirical article entitled "Send the Public Schools to Germany" he denounces them as "nothing but a better kind of concentration camp". Defenders come back acidly at such "pip-squeak" views. Most of the school masters, worried, clinging to the past, fearing the future, write, as one would expect, prosy disquisitions in refutation.

In the prolonged discussions that reached their height in 1941 in the

Times Educational Supplement and the London *Journal of Education*, none has more earnestly sought compromise than Professor Fred Clarke, Director of the University of London Institute of Education. He finds "a feeling of frustration, a sense that the real issue has not yet defined itself with sufficient clearness", a tendency "to flounder and evade". (*Journal of Education*, Mar. 1941)

There is no solution for the Public School problem while it hides behind its educational front. A social institution, the solution must be social. "But how pervasive these social influences are in English thought and practice in all that is generally taken as education! Thus, no English school at the 'secondary' level, seems to be entirely happy unless, in its neighborhood, there is a school of lower grade upon which it can look down."

Clarke does not believe the solution lies in accepting boys of other than the privileged classes under government grant, as that will be of little value unless the prestige of the 'old school tie' and of the 'useless classics' is shattered. "These all suggest an outlook upon a well-to-do world of considerable leisure, in which governing responsibilities are to be exercised in conditions where the necessary technical knowledge is provided by subordinates, and where it is not assumed that any fundamental changes will take place in the society which the training has in view." (*Journal of Education*, Apr., 1941) (13)

"Everyone knows that there are at present two sharply separate systems of education in this country, one for the rich and one for the poor", said the *New Statesman and Nation*, July 4, 1942. (14) "Are the Tories . . . prepared to send their children to the public elementary schools? . . . Or are they prepared only to grant a limited number of scholarships to boys and girls from the State schools, in the expectation of getting in return enough public money to save the 'public' schools from the bankruptcy which is threatening all except the most heavily endowed?"

"This scholarship solution, so far from democratising the 'public' schools, would merely lift a small number of working-class children into the middle classes, without any effect on the class system beyond actually reinforcing it with a manageable number of clever recruits. Yet this, pretty plainly, is what the Tories are after. . . .

"Before we can agree on the right educational arrangements for after the war, we must agree upon the kind of society we are setting out to build; and, as there is no possibility of our agreeing on that under a Gov-

ernment of 'national unity', there is no possibility under such a Government that educational reform will be anything more than a makeshift and a make-believe.

"For the moment, this truth is obscured because it is all talking and no doing. But let Mr. Butler propose to take but one really practical step towards educational reform, and he will speedily discover that he has poked his head into a hornet's nest." (15)

In January, 1942, Mack in the *Educational Forum*, writing on "The English Public School: A Symbol and a Portent", says, "Even the more conservative school-masters seem united in wanting to democratize the schools and to accept state aid . . . to give the 'best' of the poor the 'privileges' of a Public School", and with this excess of brains to receive from the government additional moneys. (16)

"There is even the suspicion that Public School masters and conservatives in general have suffered no real change of heart, but are merely trying by bargaining with the state to save their schools from the possible economic disaster that stares them in the face with the progressive impoverishment of the rich. . . .

"The common people are saving England because they have faith in it; it is hard to believe that they will be satisfied to have saved it only for their 'betters'." But "no one who has studied . . . the attempts of the spiritual ancestors of the Laskis and Russells to reform them over the last one hundred years will assume too quickly that the millenium has come". (17)

NOTES

(1) The caste system in England is still fixed. It is the unusual man who breaks through, and even he doesn't break through very far and only as gaps are opened for him to come through so that he can be utilized. Witness Ramsay MacDonald. Taken over by Lady Londonderry and educated in the ways of the upper classes, soon he was wearing the habiliments of a lackey and acting like one in her presence. The vicious, venomous, spiteful little cripple Snowden, made a lord, becomes a snob. And so with the Labour leaders today.

"The case of Sir Stafford Cripps is in many ways symbolic of what happens to progressives in English politics" (*Common Sense*, Nov., 1942). He was maneuvered into an impossible position, made apologist for the government, sent on a fruitless mission to India. Having served the government's purpose, a polite and tactful note from Churchill, written November, 1942, relegated him to the relative obscurity of minister of aircraft production, taking the place of an unknown

Colonel Llewellyn. On more favorable war news, the Tories are riding high and hard.

Time, Nov. 30, 1942, under the title, "Out Brief Candle", reports, "Anthony Eden, who firmly regained his place as Britain's No. 2 man as Sir Stafford's light guttered in recent months, added Parliamentary leadership to his present duties as Foreign Secretary. Herbert Morrison . . . took Sir Stafford's active, argumentative place in the War Cabinet. . . . Secretary for Colonies Viscount Cranborne took Sir Stafford's post as Lord Privy Seal (possibly to await appointment as new Viceroy of India to succeed Lord Linlithgow). Last February British public opinion, frustrated by bad war news, distrustful of Tory party politics, gathering in a wave of pro-Russian sentiment, made it highly politic for Churchill to take Sir Stafford Cripps into his Cabinet. The time-tested Tory maneuver of swallowing a critic then ingurgitated Cripps, who became the official apologist for Government policies he had previously criticized."

"The governing class, expert in taking up labour advocates, republican municipal socialists, and others who showed enough serious ability or popularity to be dangerous, and petting them until they were thoroughly tamed, was turning its attention to the Fabians." William Morris "knew by instinct that the Westminster Parliament would sterilise the socialists, corrupt or seduce them, and change them from intransigent revolutionists into intriguers for Cabinet rank as Yesmen and bunk merchants in the service of the governing class, claiming all the while that they represented the interests of the proletariat." (G. B. Shaw talking to Hesketh Pearson; "Bernard Shaw", Collins, London, 1942)

H. G. Wells, who has the most comprehensive and best furnished brain perhaps that England has produced in recent time, is still looked upon by the upper classes and those who ape them as an upstart, who should be kept in his place, as a starveling draper's apprentice.

Irvin Cobb in his reminiscences, "Exit Laughing" (Bobbs-Merrill, 1941), tells us of his acquaintance with Arnold Bennett, who "remained a solicitor's clerk till the end of his days. . . . And Bennett betrayed a consciousness, a secret acceptance of his designated humility by a very evident awkwardness in mixed company. . . . He was overly brusque toward those he deemed to be his inferiors, nervous in the presence of persons of large consequence. Yet here was an authentic artist with fine achievements to his credit and no reason for kowtowing to anybody. Because of the inflexible caste system of the English—a plan of selection lacking among the Irish and more or less among the Scotch—it is difficult for one of them to escape from his type grouping. Materially, he may rise up into the sunshine, but spiritually he accepts his predestined place in the cellar. On his home island he even is addicted to dressing himself according to his status, in uniforms of sorts, so that, lacking the expected demarcations in manner and speaking voice, it still would be easy to distinguish the clubman from the 'City' man, the village chemist from the village publican, the valet from the butler, the workingman from the costermonger and the costermonger from the corner loafer."

(2) Earlier, in 1927, "R. H. Tawney discovered that of 735 bishops, deans,

lords of appeal, county court judges, civil servants, directors of banks and railways, and governors of dominions, 524 had been educated at public schools. . . . In 1938 Rodgers found 20 of 21 cabinet members, 52 of 56 bishops. . . . In July, 1939, Charles Douie wrote in the *Journal of Education*. (London), that the public schools had a monopoly not only of the civil service appointments but of judgeships and education: even the non-public school men on the board of education were awed by the public schools to the extent of giving their graduates all the best teaching positions." (Mack, Vol. II, pp 383-4; cf Handbook of Private Schools, 26th ed., 1941-42, p 147)

(3) "Tory M.P.", written by an anonymous group under the pseudonym of Simon Haxey, on publication in England by Gollancz (1939), was extensively reviewed in *Time*, Aug. 7, 1939. Described as "an unobtrusive piece of political dynamite", it showed the interrelation of members of the House of Commons, supposedly and traditionally representing the common people. 77 past and present M.P.'s are related by blood or marriage to Henry Guest, while 11 are related to Lord Balniel. Later republished as "England's Money Lords" by 'Harrison-Hilton Books, Inc.', New York, much of the same material still later appeared in "The 100 Families That Rule the Empire", put forth by Flanders Hall, which was financed with German money by George Sylvester Viereck. The 'Harrison-Hilton Books, Inc.' was a promotion of Joseph Hilton Smyth, a free lance writer who in 1938 and 1939 blossomed with a chain of publications, the *Living Age*, the *North American Review*, *Current History*, and the *Saturday Review of Literature*. Smyth was considered a genius in reviving dead publications. It was not until September, 1942, that he and his associates pleaded guilty of having accepted Japanese money to buy into these publications. His connection with *Current History* and the *Saturday Review* was brief. (*Newsweek*, Sept. 14, 1942)

(4) The Church "in addition to its business and political, as well as spiritual, contacts with the wealthiest classes, has an almost exclusive contact with the privileged younger generation through its domination of the exclusive educational institutions. About 80% of the masters and headmasters in the all-powerful and virtually exclusive 'public' schools are either clergymen, or Churchmen trained in the traditions of Oxford and Cambridge, which are still Church of England strongholds", Randolph Leigh reminds us in "Conscript Europe". (Putnam, 1938)

(5) Sir Cyril Norwood's "The English Tradition of Education", together with other books of a similar nature, was reviewed under that title in the 1929-30 edition of the Handbook of Private Schools. This defense, it was pointed out, manifests a rather tired attitude, with a weak faith and dim hope. Bitterly Norwood resents Strachey's comment of Arnold "who, when he was face to face with all the beauty of Lake Como, could only think of moral evil, and the nearness of hell to everyone of us". Even more severely does he deprecate Bertrand Russell's sympathy for Arnold when he writes, "It is pathetic to see this naturally kindly gentleman lashing himself into a mood of sadism, in which he can flog little boys without compunction". Three chapters are devoted to "School Religion", truly as interesting to the scientific mind as anything Malinowski ever wrote.

(6) How the Public Schools were responsible for what was happening in the world was pointed out in the 1937-38 edition of the *Handbook of Private Schools* under the headings "Britain's Policy,—England's Predicament,—England Expects,—America, the Catspaw,—Snobbery and Snubbery; The Breeding Ground of Imperialism,—English Public Schools and Imperialism,—The Old School Tie,—The Caste System,—Perfidious Albion; Anachronistic Education,—Medieval Survivals,—Sadistic Righteousness,—Progressive Schools of the Past,—Training Talkers Not Thinkers; The Wreckers,—The Crew That Controls England,—Moral Courage Lacking,—Desperate Incompetence,—Fatal Loyalty", pp 106-117.

(7) Numerous plays and novels presented the traditional school with a type of humor that is characteristically English. "The two most influential pieces of fiction of the period, Ian Hay's play, 'Housemaster', and James Hilton's well-known 'Good-bye, Mr. Chips', both sentimental portraits of schoolmasters, are indirect pieces of propaganda, permeated with an attitude of rather self-conscious, half-ironic complacency. Donkin and Chips are both old-fashioned conservatives, who, though they are laughed at for their eccentricities and their conservatism, are essentially beloved. . . . They . . . have the right ideas about education . . . a respect for tradition as the basis of public school education; a belief in the necessity of beatings, since boys are bound to hate learning; a basic faith in the benefit to be derived from working at uncongenial tasks." (Mack II, p 433)

The humor of the play "Housemaster" is English. "The housemaster has just whipped the boy for breaking a new rule made by the headmaster, of which both disapprove", and dismisses him with "'Vamoose, scram. . . . Go and examine your disgusting stripes before a mirror! Do you do that?' 'Usually, sir.'"

(8) Wellard's "Understanding the English" and Briffault's "Decline and Fall of the British Empire" "for calculated venom and for barbed wit are probably unmatched". (Mack, II, pp 449-50)

Briffault, reviewed at length in the 23d edition of my *Handbook*, says of Public School education, "The keystone is the game of cricket". The result is "a wide range of ignorance" with "a priggish acquaintance with scholarly tradition".

Wellard tells us (cf 22d edition of the *Handbook*) that the human product of this "system of organized cruelty which effectively atrophies any emotion or humanity" is impervious to ideas or to feelings, since they have been "kicked or tormented or bullied" out of him. After a few years at Oxford, the "drill and punishment he has received will be visited on subject races for the good of the capitalists at home".

And Eric Rodgers maintained that "the public schools, through emphasizing aggressive competitiveness, mechanical rules, punishment and the idea of force, and a worship of good form are heading 'our world . . . for disaster' (*New Era*, Dec., 1936)". (Mack, II, p 440)

Two nephews of Winston Churchill, Giles and Esmond Romilly, denounced the Public Schools as "'dreary and apathetic because they aim at a standardization that is played out, within a framework which is collapsing'", and the masters as "'hypocrites, 'old sadists', incompetents, 'bogus aristocrats'". (quoted by Mack,

II, p. 449 from Romilly and Romilly, "Out of Bounds")

(9) The educational innovations in England from William of Wykeham on are summarized and characterized in the Handbook of Private Schools, 1938-39 edition, pp 41-48, under the title "Progressive Schools of the Past". Further particulars on individual progressive schools in England will be found in the 1938-39 edition, pp 667-669, under "English Schools".

(10) "The public schools, as this study has been at pains to show, respond to the social and economic forces which influence English history in general and their problem in the twentieth century is therefore but part of the larger problem of what has checked the march of labor to power in England—what, for example, caused the failure of labor to gain a parliamentary majority or win the General Strike. . . .

"In the world at large, from the year of the General Strike, labor was constantly on the defensive, aiming—except for a small but militant left wing—at conciliation, not at the reconstruction of society. The treachery of MacDonald in 1931 and the internal conflicts over foreign policy and communism since 1932 have served further to weaken the party, thus assuring an undisputed Tory rule for seven crucial years. And the Tories have not been idle. Beginning with the Trade Unions Act of 1927, they have been steadily whittling away labor's rights: Hutt could write that in 1933 labor was in a worse condition than at any time since the eighties; in 1939 H. G. Wells could assert that in the previous ten years England had undergone a reactionary revolution." (Mack, II, pp 387-8, with references to Hutt, "The Post-War History of the British Working Class" and Wells, "The Fate of Homo Sapiens")

(11) "From the moment when Churchill was offered, and accepted, the leadership of the Conservative party, there was an implied understanding that Labor's political influence would not be used during the war for any attack on the foundations of capitalist enterprise. . . . Labor stands clearly for a peace devoid of vindictiveness. . . . But when it has had to choose between having its voice half-stifled and doing anything that might be regarded as damaging to the immediate war effort, it has let itself be stifled sooner than run any risks of even appearing to say anything that might 'encourage the enemy'." So writes G. D. H. Cole, authority on British Labor, in an article in the *Boston Herald*, June 15, 1941.

(12) "The aristocratic 'public' schools", *Time* reports, April 28, 1941, "have suffered financially. One of them, Weymouth, has closed. The rest are so hard up that they are getting Parliament to pass a bill to let them spend endowment capital. Eton advertised one of its houses to let, and an Eton master hinted that the school might one day be reduced to admitting girls."

The greatest damage is to the prestige of these schools. Even the present Prime Minister has turned against the Public School, recognizing that here is a case something like the 'enclosure of the common lands' in the 17th and 18th centuries to make deer parks. "Mr. Churchill (who is an Harrovian) . . . says that the public schools must revert to their original purpose of providing education for poor scholars. . . . The Public Schools' Act of 1868 . . . was a piece of class legislation.

... Our Victorian grandparents had a peculiar talent for grabbing old endowments and using them for the well-to-do middle and upper classes, while declaring unctuously that it was for the good of all." (*Journal of Education*, Mar., 1941)

(13) "To the charge that the whole system is undemocratic it is sometimes replied that 'independent' schools of the same kind exist and flourish in those citadels of democracy, the Dominions. That is true. But what does not exist there is any recognized claim to status constituted by a particular school label. Between the 'independent' schools of the Dominions and the working of Dominion government and society there is nothing parallel to what exists in England. It would be inconceivable that, in Australia for instance, a Geelong boy should make claims similar to those which could be made by an Eton or Winchester boy here with the full expectation that they would be accepted." (*Journal of Education*, Apr., 1941)

"Some subtle poison" is at work in maintaining "this queer and self-destructive disposition", Clarke claims. "In the conditions that we shall now have to face the thing will operate as a social poison. . . . It becomes now a deadly infection . . . a chief breeding-centre of this social sepsis. . . . The public school may have to die in order to live again in a larger and richer national life. . . . If the schools can rise to the level of the demand they will be surprised at the response they will evoke. If they cannot, not many will have any further use for them."

The social issues brought to the surface by Laski, Bevan, Joad and others, challenging "presuppositions upon which English society has been built for some centuries", have been obscured in a "dangerous state of half-vision, double-mindedness, and self-deception that can be so fruitful a source of conflict", Clarke remarks. The real battle is joined in "conflicting interests . . . socio-political presuppositions". Here lies the danger in "the confusion of motives and the infection of educational theory by social 'interest'". "Undeclared social or personal interest can easily assume the dress of disinterested educational principle: ignorances can look like virtues, and tenacious holding-on to privilege can give us all the self-approving glow of faithfulness to principles."

Professor Clarke writes me under date of January 20, 1943, "It is good to know that the American public is being kept so well informed on this great issue of the future of the public schools. I have reason to believe that E. C. Mack's work is being more widely studied than the surface evidence would suggest, and it is having its effect. Many of the Headmasters are much more liberal than their Governors and still more so than their old boys. I continue to hope that the grounds of the new kind of unity will be discovered in time. As I wrote in the *Journal of Education* in 1941, the solution whereby boys other than those of the privileged class might be taken is no longer feasible. If I felt that then I feel it even more strongly now."

(14) "In England there are three levels of schooling. The children of the poor go to public elementary schools until they are 14. Children of the lower-middle classes go to secondary schools until they are 16, while the upper-middle class and the rich go to 'Public' schools if they are boys, and to private schools if girls, until the age of 18. The bulk of university students are from the 'Public' schools, which

are, of course, not public at all, but most exclusively private and expensive. Whereas public elementary schools are free (and over-crowded and poorly housed) and secondary schools cost between 40 and 80 dollars a year, it will cost you, if you want to send your boy to the best 'Public' school, Eton, at least \$1,200 a year. Some not-so-fashionable schools cost rather less, but to no acknowledged 'Public' school could your son go for under \$800 a year." (Maurice Cranston, "The World from London", Worldover Press, Oct. 7, 1942)

(15) "The educational system is and must be a function of the community's way of living. A truly democratic educational system inside a plutocracy is a contradiction in terms, for boys and girls must be educated for the positions which await them in adult life. Failure to adjust the educational system to the needs of the social and economic system means the production of misfits; and that in turn means revolution—Fascist or otherwise, as the balance of forces may determine." (*New Statesman and Nation*, July 4, 1942)

(16) Our own preparatory schools have for some time embarked on this plan, offering scholarships to superior boys of their type from a lower economic caste, so raising the average of intellect in the school. In England, however, it may still be suspected that the schoolmasters desire more the government money than the poor boys' brains.

(17) This article in the *Educational Forum*, Jan., 1942, carries on the story from where Mack's second volume of "Public Schools and British Opinion" left off. Since "war was declared . . . the future of Eton, Harrow and other 'Public Schools' . . . became a burning issue", he writes. "A Public School is less a place where knowledge is imparted and a boy's intellectual capacities developed than a social microcosm designed to mould its members into the shape of upper class gentlemen. This process is mysterious only as all social influences are mysterious. . .

"The essence of the system", which is not a system, "lies not in externals but in the fact that a Public School brings together a number of upper class boys, and, through having them live together in a certain atmosphere and with certain established relationships to one another, turns them out in the image of those who created the atmosphere and the relationships."

The English Public Schools "are firmly wedded to the classical program because it is supposed to develop 'character'" not mere intellectual development, remarks President Harry D. Gideonse of Brooklyn College in *School and Society*, Sept. 5, 1942, in an article critical of Walter Lippmann's idea of educational reconstruction. The English philosopher, C. E. M. Joad, has recently commented on the character of the English governing class. "Singapore and Burma", he said, "have shown that we could have done with a lot less character (if gossip, bridge, golf, whisky, a belligerent lowbrowism expressing itself in a hearty dislike of art, literature, and thought, and a capacity for leadership expressed in an immeasurable disdain of men with differently coloured skins, the whole suffused by a sublime consciousness of ineffable superiority, may indeed be called character) in exchange for a little more brains."

HOPES OF RECONSTRUCTION

The effect of the first World War "was to bring education to a standstill. England was entirely unprepared for the emergency." The failure of education determined liberal Englishmen to bring about reform.

To maintain morale in the grimy factories of the "black country" and on the bloody fields of Flanders, passionate assurance was given the workers and fighters that when the war was over, England would be made "a land fit for heroes". T. E. Lawrence wrote, "The freshness of the world-to-be intoxicated us. We were wrought up with ideas inexpressible and vaporous, but to be fought for." (1)

"Reconstruction after the war", and particularly in education, was the talk on both sides the Atlantic. Sacrifices on the battlefield were to "make the world safe for democracy". At the convention of the National Education Association, at Milwaukee, July, 1919, "educational leaders fresh from work in the war zone spoke with seriousness and hopefulness. The more impressive and significant tendency evident in the atmosphere of the entire convention was the general adoption of the idea of education as a social process and the discarding of the old-time emphasis on education as mental, intellectual, and moral discipline." (2)

But the promises were not to be fulfilled. In America we returned to "normalcy". The succeeding years found that "England's rulers had again ditched the people as when they had enclosed their common lands, made the poor boys' schools privileged preserves; and again education was confined to a social processing for maintaining the caste system". (3)

Again the third year of this second World War finds the people once more sold on the war on much the same terms as the last. The hopes of the people of England are again fixed on a better England and equality of educational opportunity.

"When the war is over, Winston Churchill told the boys at Harrow today, life in England will be a great deal different than it has been for generations. The 'advantages and privileges which hitherto have been enjoyed only by the few shall be far more widely shared'." (Boston *Transcript*, Dec. 20, 1940)

"Britain after the war will not tolerate . . . the scourge of unemploy-

ment", declared Arthur Greenwood, labor leader, Jan. 13, 1941, (*Unity*, June, 1941). Lloyd George in 1917 in a speech at the City Temple had said, and probably meant it, "Britain after the war will not tolerate the scourge of unemployment".

"The Two Scourges", a much quoted editorial in the conservative *London Times*, Dec., 1940, dealing with war and unemployment, declared, "To create the new social order does not, like war, call for sacrifice of life and limb. But it does call for many of those other sacrifices of profits and luxuries, or rights and privileges, which we make unquestioningly in time of war. . . . We must plan for peace as consciously and as deliberately, and with the same common readiness for sacrifice, as we now plan for war. It must not be said that we are more ready to risk our lives than our vested interests."

Allan Nevins, sent over to England later to report to Americans, presents an optimistic picture of England's hopes in "This Is England Today" (Scribner, 1941). He "found everywhere a determination that there shall be a new Britain, a new Europe after the war; that the victories for social justice shall not be lost" (Reviewer in *Saturday Review*, Dec. 27, 1941).(4)

Peter Lyne, reporting from London, Feb. 12, 1942, felt confident that 'a long step forward to insure a better post-war Britain has been taken by the government in making Lord Reith Minister of Planning'. April 18, forecasting postwar "austerity", he was nevertheless still optimistic. "Mr. Bevin's realistic warning of what is to be given as well as what is to be gained seems to have a better chance of success than 'Homes Fit for Heroes', the slogan of the last war, which turned out to be not even a half-truth." (*Chr Sci Monitor*)

R. H. Tawney, the tough minded radical of twenty years ago, author of "The Acquisitive Society" and now professor of economic history at the University of London told the Progressive Education Association in New York, Dec. 5, 1941 (*N. Y. Tribune*),—"This present war, like the last, has thrust education into the forefront. . . . The hand of history has been heavy on education in England, but measures which would diminish some of the gross inequalities disfiguring the English school system are now being considered." He mentioned the hope of allowing children to remain in school till they are fifteen instead of fourteen as one of the "specific measures under study".

H. G. Wells in his "Phoenix" (1942) explains the situation, "At the

outset of world mechanisation the English went to the most elaborate pains to invent a lower-class teaching with specially trained lower-class teachers, whose successful revolt against their inferiority makes one of the most stimulating chapters in the history of education. British Conservatism is still struggling against the threatened amalgamation of all its teaching institutions into one public service."

"Education After the War" was the title of a memorandum, published in advance, and presented and adopted at the 1942 meeting of the Trades Union Congress in Blackpool. Sir Walter Citrine in the introductory note declared that "it is vital that educational reform be undertaken, and that we make ready now". And he called not only for greater equality in educational opportunity but for relaxation of the competition at the age of 11 for the secondary school, and again at 18. "There can be no free and equal access to the many important posts in the State for which university education is a necessary qualification until such education is accessible to all who can benefit from it." (*London Times Educational Supplement*, Aug. 29, 1942)

The debate on the memorandum was opened by Mr. George Chester, "who characterized the present educational system as one of the most distressing features of our social life, and called for a system in which social distinctions and privileges no longer played a part". (*London Times Educational Supplement*, Sept. 12, 1942)

"Education . . . if it is to be effective, must keep in step with the needs of society", declared Mr. Ramsbotham, until recently president of the British Board of Education, addressing the London teachers in 1941 (*Times Educational Supplement*). "Our educational machinery is old-fashioned already; after the war it will be obsolete. This is a war in which every man, woman and child are fighting for their lives, in which 'none is for the party and all are for the State'. We may expect that something more than a mere educational tinkering will be demanded; we hope that from this conflict will emerge a national will to demand for all our children alike their inherited right of 'equal opportunity'." A year later the new young president of the Board, Richard Austen Butler, sounds a hopeful but cautious note.(5)

In his "Education for the People" (Routledge, 1941), F. H. Spencer discusses what shape reform is to take. Like the Board of Education, Spencer hasn't the courage to recognize the demands of industry, which as always will "fight to the death to retain its hold on cheap juvenile la-

bour", remarks the reviewer. It is "futile to talk about 'equality of opportunity'" when the 'school leaving age' is "virtually the age of compulsory entry into gainful labor" for one class, while another is supposedly winning future Waterloos on the playing fields of Sodom. The reviewer in the *Times Educational Supplement*, June 28, 1941, adds, "His premises are revolutionary", but his conclusions and proposals "merely evolutionary", restricted "entirely to a policy of improvement of the existing service. . . . Popular education . . . has never, by our statesmen, been conceived as the most important means . . . of producing a noble race."

Referring to this bone of hopeless contention, 'equality of opportunity', a correspondent in the *Times Educational Supplement*, Aug. 30, 1941, believes there is little popular demand and "wonders to what extent the cry for equality of opportunity is being raised by those with a particular axe to grind, those who have felt themselves thwarted in their social ambitions by vested interests, by the old school tie distinction".

Michael Roberts in "The Recovery of the West" attempts a candid view. "Our whole conception of education needs to be revised. At present we offer intellectual training to all children of marked ability, but the scope of that training is limited, and it does very little to counteract the impression that a man's main business in life is to make money for himself. At the end of their training we then allow them to discover that they are barred (unofficially, but none the less effectively) from most of the higher professions and most of the positions of trust in the public services." (6)

"The Future in Education" by Sir Richard Livingstone, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, excited much discussion in England during the year 1941. He held up the Danish Folk Schools as a model to be imitated, but called attention to compulsory school life ending in Denmark at thirteen. (7)

The most authoritative survey of the possible future of education is presented in the Sept., 1941, issue of the *Round Table*, founded by Lord Lothian and still edited and controlled by influential members of the Government coterie. "We are aiming at a society based not on equality, which is impossible, nor on democracy, which is too vague a word, but on the Platonic idea of justice. . . .

"We want to abolish forever that attitude of superiority which unfortunately so many of our intellectuals adopt towards the manual workers, and we wish them to realise that they too will be worth all the more if

they know themselves to possess a capacity for physical work'. . . . These are Hitler's words. But the fact that Hitler spoke them does not lessen their wisdom."

We are complacently reminded that a century ago "half the inhabitants of England could neither read nor write. . . . Eighty-two per cent of . . . children . . . before the present war . . . left school to enter full-time employment at the age of fourteen." In 1918 "the admirable provisions for part-time education in the Fisher Act were optional and therefore inoperative, except in one enlightened town, Rugby. . . . But in 1939 apparently people thought that more than seventy per cent of the citizens of a democracy needed no education after the age of fourteen. . . .

"Our future education will roughly follow two lines. The training of the few will be much as at present. For the rest, full-time schooling to 15 if not 16, and part-time education to 18; later, and for all, opportunities of adult education, so that people in after life will have an opportunity of systematic study, and will not, as at present, have no chance to think at an age when they have far more to think about than they can have at school or university."

The spokesmen for the Tory Government and the conservative educators are not wholly convincing to either the idealists or the realists. It is little wonder that there is skepticism at some of the brilliant pictures of the future that have been painted. There are some who have no hesitancy in declaring them fakes. They remember the bitter disappointment that followed the even more brilliant promises at the time of the last war. Moreover they see the same crew in power.

That old salt H. M. Tomlinson in his recent book, "The Wind Is Rising", voices "an uneasy suspicion that when the dust has subsided, the groans have died away and radiant future has dimmed into present reality, the same old team will be found hauling the same wagon up the same hill. Only the faces on the driver's seat will have changed." (*Time*, Mar. 16, 1942)

"Hardly any of the men who followed, applauding, on the path that Mr. Chamberlain set have stepped down. They are nearly all there, still. One goes to an Embassy in Madrid, another to an Embassy in Washington, a third to the Woolsack. As they go the Tory press remarks approvingly, how well they deserve of their country, how far-sighted they were and are, how the Spaniards or Americans or whatnots will love them," writes Douglas Reed in his "Prophet at Home". (Jonathan Cape, 1941)

"Churchill and those for whom he stands", writes Harold Laski from London (*Progressive*, Aug. 1, 1942), "do not want to face the fact that this war is a phase of an immense revolution in which the first three acts were the war of 1914, the Russian revolution, and rise of fascism in Germany and Italy. . . . They cherish the secret hope that victory will restore a past whose traditions are dear and familiar to them. They do not want to embark on innovations which might jeopardize the restoration of those traditions." (8)

Equally doubtful, viewing the English scene, are Americans who know the world. John Erskine in the *American Scholar*, Winter, 1941-2, says, "We are told by some American observers as well as by the British themselves that the present war has brought a democratic change. . . . I am not the only American who takes the liberty of remaining skeptical. We see no signs that the ruling class in England will voluntarily change its ways or that the lower classes will insist on their doing so. We remember the promises of reform in the last war."

Even more pessimistic are two writers in February, 1942, *Harpers*, both of whom write their impressions of England in the fall of 1941. They find the same Tories in control, perhaps not the same clique but representatives of a class having the same training, the same standards, the same outlook. The 'old school tie', however frayed, is still worn.

Vincent Sheean writes on "The Tory Leaders". "During the past two years I have read so many things in print about how England has changed (how the old order changeth) that it has seemed to me worth while to point out, with conviction and emphasis, that whatever social and economic changes may be under way, the political system is today precisely what it was before the war and very nearly what it was before 1914. . . .

"The old government and the new government and the next government are made up of people who have met for dinner and in country houses all their lives long. They have gone to the same schools, the same parties, read the same books, and followed the same fashions ever since they can remember. . . .

"Social change since 1940 . . . is not always apparent . . . it has not yet permeated the political structure. . . . The London workers have demanded and obtained as of right certain social services which could never have been extended in peacetime—food and shelter have become the clearly recognized obligation of society to every inhabitant of the island.

"Yet the governing groups remain much the same as they always were.

The high offices of state are not those headed by Labor party leaders. The high offices of state are the Foreign Office, the Treasury, India Office, Board of Trade, and the like. These are under Tory party control and are likely to remain so for the duration of the war." (9)

John Dos Passos, who had been seeing England intimately, writes of "England in the Great Lull". The House of Commons, which has held over since 1935, he reminds us, "was elected to be a house of deadheads and it is. Men of brains can pretty well be counted on the fingers of two hands. . . . Wells . . . has been the schoolmaster of generation after generation of young Englishmen with brains who were not quite wealthy or not quite gentry enough to go through the mills of the Public Schools. . . . Meanwhile the old order in its most antiquated form is still in command of most of the machinery of government and industry. . . . There has been no revolution, to be sure; top dog is still top dog." (10)

Top dog protects the system that produced him, the Public School, the caste system, imperialism, and all that goes with it. Top dog is watch dog of the social system, which determines the nature of education. Only when top dog is displaced can underdog begin to change the system, change education, produce a new kind of top dog to administer a modified social system and produce through improved and changed education better and better top dogs. (11)

If the Tories can accomplish their purpose in the name of compromise,—taking over the brightest boys of the nation for the Public Schools, and letting the Government supply the money,—that 'reform' would result in reenforcing and prolonging the system, conditioning the best at the expense of the taxpayers, who are to be fooled and controlled.

But the Tories hope to hold much more. The Conservative Party's much discussed report, which has met with bitter denunciation, would maintain the dual education system for poor and rich, give more time to religion in the schools and inculcate a sense of duty to the state. At Caxton Hall, Butler, while standing for compromise, warned of "the individual being swamped by a deluge of State control—a veritable Fascist nightmare". But the Tory element stood staunchly for the report and against "pink slop". (*Times Educ. Suppl.*, Oct. 3, 1942) (12)

The Beveridge plan "almost swamped the War off the front pages of London's evening newspapers" in December 1942. The *London Economist* called it "a plan for the security of incomes up to a minimum level . . . based upon existing schemes and existing methods". Sir William

Henry Beveridge, lifetime liberal economist, was appointed in 1941 by the then Minister of Reconstruction, Arthur Greenwood, intellectual leader of the labor party, to "survey . . . existing national schemes of social insurance and allied services . . . and to make recommendations".

"Rare & Refreshing Beveridge!" was the way *Time*, Dec. 14, 1942, greeted the plan. "If the Beveridge plan weighs Britain down", her difficulties might still be avoided "if the U.S. continued Lend-Lease aid, thereby in effect assuming the cost of the plan.(13) Or they might avoid it by export subsidies, barter agreements and other devices such as Germany used before the war—thereby colliding head on with U.S. policy." Two weeks later *Time* reported, "Sir William's Plan had become so popular with the people that the political parties were falling over each other proclaiming its principles their own".

The plan will work if unemployment does not rise above 10% and if prices do not go more than 25% over the 1938 level by 1945 when the plan would be inaugurated, and if in post-war trade there will be full international cooperation. It would not work if India gains her freedom, for as Churchill has recently reiterated two out of ten inhabitants of England "depend" upon India.(14)

The national economy would seem to be affected only in the saving on industrial insurance. Government insurance, which the plan proposes to substitute for the current private industrial insurance, could be administered for 6d on the pound as compared with the present cost 7s 6d,—one-fifteenth of the present cost. "Extravagant and unwieldy, even if workable" is the official comment by Britain's big life insurance companies (Lyne, *Chr Sci Monitor*, Jan. 2, 1943).(15)

Enthusiasm diminished as the plan came to be better understood. *The New Statesman and Nation*, Dec. 5, 1942, emphasized that nothing was to be done for three years and then the national appropriation would be only 83 million pounds, the most of the money would come from "deductions from wages, made by the employer, which was once denounced by Mr. Belloc as the hall-mark of the 'Servile State' ". A correspondent refers to it as a "crumb of reform . . . stripped of its glamour it stands naked as an attempt to perpetuate class rule at the expense of the ruled".

The Tories describe this Beveridge Plan as "a free ride from the cradle to the grave", "cheap insurance against a Red revolution" (cf *Current Biography*, Dec., 1942). Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, M. P., ignoring the first of Roosevelt's "four freedoms", doubts if it is "desirable that men

and women should be free from fear of actual want" (*Chr Sci Monitor*, Jan. 4, 1943).

"No legislation based on it will pass Parliament before 1945, if, indeed, there is to be any enactment at all. The group which made the proposals went at the task in a deliberate, scholarly way" (*Boston Herald*, Dec. 28, 1942). The editorial makes it clear that the opposition will have every opportunity to study, undermine and defeat the plan.

In less than three months after the report was available Raymond Daniell cabled, "The government manipulated the Beveridge Report into Limbo today but not so adroitly that it did not leave a bad taste in the mouths of Labor. It was decided that the Labor Party would not yield an inch in its demand for specific government commitments" and "the immediate adoption of the Beveridge Report proposals". But "Labor ministers like Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison who, in order to hold their cabinet rank, had to fly in the face of Providence or, to put it another way, in the face of politics . . . agreed to shelve the Beveridge Report". (*N. Y. Times*, Feb. 19, 1943) And so labor was made to shoulder the blame for killing the plan. It proved to be little more than a proposition that the poor lift themselves by their bootstraps, a large part of the cost to come from their taxes or wages. Under the title "Cradle to Grave to Pigeonhole", *Time*, Mar. 22, told of the final disposal of the plan wags had dubbed "security from womb to tomb", and of the announcement of Roosevelt's "Ersatz Beveridge" for Americans.

A war weary public needed this shot in the arm to make them ready to continue to endure and to fight. This Beveridge straw has been snatched at in hopeful enthusiasm by the workers and idealists and has afforded them opportunity to work off their suppressed feelings. Safety valves must be provided, long experience in controlling people has shown the ruling class. It's the old Tory policy of letting them blow off steam at Hyde Park corner or in the House of Commons. As a last resort additional sops can be thrown to the mob. (16)

NOTES

(1) From the introduction of "The Seven Pillars of Wisdom", deleted from the popular edition but later printed in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mar., 1939. Lawrence goes on bitterly, "Yet when we achieved and the new world dawned the old men came out again and took from us our victory, and re-made it in the likeness of the former world they knew. Youth could win, but had not learned to keep, and

was pitifully weak against age. We stammered that we had worked for a new heaven and a new earth, and they thanked us kindly and made their peace. When we are their age no doubt we shall serve our children so."

(2) From the Handbook of Private Schools, 5th edition, 1919-1920, which goes on, "The necessity of socializing education is no longer a matter of mere phrasing. This convention showed that it had become a conviction with the majority of the teachers present. . . . 'We stand for an opportunity, for an adequate education for the children of the poor people that is equal to that now open to the children of the rich people.'" (pp 43-44)

In the same edition we reviewed Professor W. E. Hocking's hopeful book "Human Nature and Its Remaking" (Yale, 1918), which reflected the spirit of the times. In a chapter on education, he held that its milieu must be a society which has developed "social self-consciousness and self-criticism".

In the 4th edition of the Handbook of Private Schools, 1918, under the title "Educational Reconstruction in England", reflecting the enthusiasm, we wrote, "On July 17, 1918, there occurred an epoch-making event, one that marks the culmination of one phase of the intellectual and social revolution that has been going on in England during the past three years. On that date, after almost a year's debate, the House of Commons passed the Fisher Education Bill which gives England a national system of education, years in advance of anything we have yet achieved in America". (p 71)

(3) From the 25th edition of the Handbook of Private Schools, 1940-41, which continues, "But as a result of continued protest the Hadow Commission finally brought in a report calling for something more educational than the conditioning to which the young were then subjected. But there was delay and its recommendations were finally negated by the Tories. 'We know what practical experience has made of that', bitterly the *Journal of Education* comments in April, 1941. In response to further protest, another commission was appointed which recommended what the Tories wanted. 'The Spens Report returns, with an almost audible sigh of relief, to the old ways.'" (pp 44-45)

In the 6th edition of the Handbook, 1920-21, in reporting on "Education Abroad", we had written, "The great day in England has not yet arrived. When the Education Act of 1918 was passed by Parliament much was hoped from it, but the 'appointed day' on which it shall go into effect has not yet been set and there is no present indication when the government will cease its excuses and act. . . The enthusiasm that marked the passage of the Education Act seems to have receded." (p 49)

Dr. R. D. Gillespie of London in his "Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier" (Norton, 1942), is again hopeful,—"This time it almost looks as if the ideals that were stimulated by the last war, only to be lost again in the peace, will this time be enshrined in practical measures in many ways."

President Ada Comstock of Radcliffe in the Radcliffe *Quarterly*, Nov., 1942, warned, "It is easy to be far too hopeful of the carryover of vision and moral exaltation into the post-war period. In his article, 'Beware the Aftermath', President

Lowell recently set down vividly the disappointment of such hopes which commonly follows war, and the reasons for expecting the upsurge of materialism which has so often occurred."

(4) *Education for Victory*, the official biweekly of the U.S. Office of Education, Oct. 1, 1942, publishes two columns on the propaganda "Exhibit on Education in Britain" prepared by the British Information Services, Radio City, N. Y., and then on display at the Teachers College Library. The exhibit shows, despite war difficulties, "98 per cent of the children receive full-time schooling. . . . 77½ per cent of the boys and 67½ per cent of the girls between the ages of 14 and 16 years of age are doing about 90 kinds of war work." Naturally the view presented is optimistic, beginnings shown as large accomplishments. "Except for transport . . . it will be loaned free of charge. Appropriate literature accompanies the exhibit."

From Bury and Leeds local correspondents report, Sept. 19, 1942, "totally inadequate educational facilities". A committee of 20 Bury parents, who were willing to pay the necessary fees and whose children had passed the necessary examinations, petitioned and sent a deputation to the high school governors, who rejected the children for lack of accommodation. In Leeds, where approximately 100 children are housed in a one-roomed wooden building, residents petitioned the education committee for additional temporary accommodation, but the board would not allow it. (*London Times Educational Supplement*, Sept. 19, 1942)

"Hopes of reconstruction" in England are imaginatively and unrealistically dealt with in the American press. The material fed to us from British agencies from London and from Radio City and put forth under subsidies from American peace and educational foundations give a very different picture from that obtained by reading what the English read. Whitehall and Washington influence is apparent in most of the optimistic and idealistic pictures of reconstruction in England after the war. Walter M. Kotschnig in a volume under the aegis of the Carnegie subsidized Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, published by the Oxford University Press (1943) under the title "Slaves Need No Leaders", is an example of this influence. The tone of this book is not at all in line with Kotschnig's earlier work. Educational Reconstruction in England is dealt with without even mention of Edward C. Mack's scholarly work, and education in Germany with no mention of George Kneller's exhaustive study "Educational Philosophy of National Socialism" (Yale, 1941). Instead sensational books like Gregor Zierner's "Education for Death" are quoted.

(5) President Butler of the British Board of Education, speaking at "the N.U.T. Conference" (National Union of Teachers), "said the country had heard enough about reconstruction; it wanted something done. If we kept awake there was no reason why the first part of reconstruction should not be on the educational front." All this, he hopefully said, derived from the thought "that we should emerge from the war a single society or community and not as two nations" (*Journal of Education*, May 1942), referring to Disraeli's "two nations", the rich and the poor. Butler's most publicized innovation perhaps has been to have American

history so taught as to "help English school children realize that Hollywood, hot music and slang are not the most important features of the United States".

(6) Michael Roberts' "The Recovery of the West" (Faber, 1941), was the subject of an extended editorial in the *Times* Educational Supplement, July 12, 1941, which attracts attention to Roberts' statement that "the decline in the birth-rate, the slackening of industrial progress, the setbacks of democracy . . . the disillusion of those who pinned their faith to material science, and the general loss of confidence in the values of our civilization . . . are as serious as the threat of any external power, and will not cure themselves; but they are not symptoms of some vast incurable disease. In part, they are the growing pains of our society, and in so far as they are evils, they can be cured." Roberts believes, "Fundamentally, it is not snobbery or prejudice that stands in their way . . . the real impediment is the inadequacy of their own training. By giving them a highly sophisticated, and predominantly scientific, education without a corresponding moral and social training, we equip them for acute and penetrating criticism without helping them to build up a character suited to . . . leadership."

(7) Editorializing on "The Future in Education", May, 1941, the *Journal of Education* remarks, "In Sir Richard Livingstone's view the most urgent problem in education is 'to give the masses of the nation some higher education, which will include that study of human ideals and achievement which we call literature, history, and politics, and that study of the material universe which we call science'. These subjects, he says, can have little meaning for pupils in our primary and post-primary schools who have little experience of life."

(8) Laski has referred to the reverse in Libya as "an epitaph on the system. . . . It is a necessary consequence of a government which seeks to revitalize a society that is dying, instead of being urgent to hasten the birth of a society that is seeking to be born."

Laski asserts that this war is Churchill's war, that he is interested only in preserving what was, that he doesn't realize this is a revolution. Laski suggests that Sir Stafford Cripps might well bring to Mr. Churchill's notice what Kropotkin said: "A revolution must from its inception be an act of justice to the ill-treated and oppressed, and not a promise to perform this act of reparation later on. Otherwise, it is sure to fail." (*New Statesman and Nation*, May 2, 1942)

Bruce Bliven is even more emphatic in the *New Republic*, Sept. 8, 1942. The war "has become increasingly a one-man show, and that man Mr. Churchill. He has taken the trouble to capture Mr. Roosevelt with his personal charm. . . . It is, broadly speaking, true that the United Nations' war aims are Mr. Churchill's war aims; that the plan for the war, in both political and military senses, is his plan. . . . These men are keeping very quiet nowadays about their ideas; but they are still in power, and to suppose they have changed their minds is to suppose a psychological impossibility. . . . To Mr. Roosevelt, the war is his and Mr. Churchill's personal job. To Mr. Churchill it is his personal job, plus a lot of help from 'Franklin', whom he can take, and has taken, into camp by his irresistible, fifty-ton-tank charm."

Based on the Administration-prompted speeches since May of Vice-President Wallace, Ambassador Winant, Undersecretary of State Welles, and Milo Perkins, assembled and reprinted as a pamphlet by the State Department, announcing the principles of this 'peoples' war' and 'the end of imperialism', *Life*, Oct. 12, 1942, reaching 35 million readers, published "An Open Letter . . . to the People of England", admitting our blunders and that "We Americans may have some disagreement among ourselves as to what we are fighting for, but one thing we are sure we are not fighting for is to hold the British Empire together. . . . In the light of what you are doing in India, how do you expect us to talk about 'principles' and look our soldiers in the eye? If you want to keep us on Your Side you must move part way over to Our Side."

That was rather an impertinent suggestion, for as is well known two out of every ten of the English people live on the profits from India. This was recently restated by Churchill who added that 'without India the Empire is dead'.

The cables, October 12, reflected the resentment of the British leaders at this 'attack', this "implied threat of a separate peace . . . that can only bring pleasure to the Propaganda Minister in Berlin". (E. C. Murrow)

October 15, Henry R. Luce in what was interpreted as an apology explained that his purpose had been to advocate "the end of imperialism throughout the world".

Life, October 19, quoted an editorial from the *Manchester Guardian*, October 12, "In the eyes of most Americans the primacy of Great Britain . . . is now a thing of the past. . . . The United States did not deliberately choose to enter the war . . . but was pitched into it overnight intellectually unconverted and morally unprepared. . . . What we can do and ought to do is to remove those obstacles to a cordial understanding . . . which our follies have erected and our inertia maintains. . . . The British Empire of the past with its mixture of paternalism and repression has plainly had its day. . . . Victory depends on our offering . . . a cause for which to fight."

Life also quoted Wendell Willkie's release from Chungking,— "This war is not simply a technical problem for task forces. It is also a war for men's minds. . . . I have traveled through thirteen countries. . . . They all doubt . . . the readiness of the leading democracies . . . to stand up and be counted upon for the freedom of others after the war is over. This doubt kills their enthusiastic participation on our side."

The reply of Vernon Barlett, M.P., to *Life's* open letter somewhat arrogantly resents "bitter attacks such as yours", which "spread distrust", and repeats the Tory clichés of their "hatred of tyranny", "the problem of India". *Life* prints this, Oct. 26, with humble comment on the desirability of "fundamental agreement as to the objectives of a people's war".

New Republic, Oct. 19, 1942, observed, "What they meant to say to the English, we believe, was simply this: 'Get rid of Colonel Blimp and Admiral Blimp and Cabinet Minister Blimp, or we'll all lose this war together'. . . . We cannot win the Asiatic people for the war effort, says Mr. Willkie, with 'no better reason than that Japanese rule would be even worse than Western imperialism'. They want

to know whether the Atlantic Charter applies to them also. Nail that one on the doors of Winston Churchill and Leopold Amery, and see how it squares with British policy toward India. Nail it on the prison cells of Gandhi and Nehru. Read it to the Conservative back-benchers in the House of Commons who cheered the announcement of the machine-gunning of natives in recent Indian riots."

(9) "The most noticed, most discussed and—regardless of ups and downs—the most important of the Tory notables seem to be Mr. Anthony Eden, Lord Beaverbrook, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Mr. Alfred Duff Cooper, Sir John Anderson, Lord Halifax, Captain David Margesson, Sir Kingsley Wood, Lord Simon (technically a Liberal), Sir Samuel Hoare, and possibly Lord Caldecote, the former Sir Thomas Inskip, sometimes known as Caligula's horse." (Sheean, *Harpers*, Feb., 1942). All would agree in England, as elsewhere, with Mark Twain that "nothing so needs reforming as other peoples habits". Now even the most ardent reformist in England wouldn't dare to think of reforming the habits, mental or otherwise, of such great statesmen as Mr. Sheean mentions, and as for the gentlemen themselves, they couldn't be expected to entertain any thought of lack of perfection. So the only way to accomplish reform of education obviously is to throw them out.

"Who are the real rulers of Britain?" is answered by Harold J. Laski in the *N. Y. Times Magazine*, Jan. 24, 1943. "All the vital controls of State power . . . remain in the hands of the propertied class . . . the real rulers of Britain." He repeats and brings up-to-date the statistics of the family, Public School and corporation connections of the members of Parliament and the government which were so completely and statistically presented by Haxey in "Tory M. P."

How the English rulers came into power which they still hold is neatly summarized with a parallel from Rome by H. J. Haskell in "This Was Cicero: Modern Politics in a Roman Toga" (Knopf, 1942). This rather remarkable and readable work is not by a classicist but by a journalist of the *Kansas City Star*.

"A group of Whig nobles had been the driving force in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and later had established the House of Hanover on the British throne. These families included the Bentincks, headed by the Duke of Portland, the Campbells by the Duke of Argyll, the Cavendishes by the Duke of Devonshire, the Pelhams by the Duke of Newcastle, the Russells by the Duke of Bedford, the Grenvilles by Earl Temple, the Stanhopes by Earl Stanhope and the Earl of Chesterfield—all names known and respected throughout Britain. . . . A modern investigator reports that in the hundred and twenty-five years preceding the first Labour government of 1924, of the three hundred and six men reaching cabinet rank, one hundred and eighty-two, or sixty per cent, were hereditary titled aristocrats.

"So in Rome. . . . In something under two hundred years down into the second century before Christ, Mommsen has listed sixteen Roman families that furnished one hundred and forty of the two hundred patrician nobles who attained consular rank. The Cornelii, Valerii, Æmilii, Claudii, Fabii, Manlii, Postumii, Sulpicii, corresponded to the English Pelhams, Cavendishes, Bentincks, and the rest. . . . In both England and Rome it was necessary for the nobles to dominate the popular legislative bodies. In each case the foundation of power, as has been suggested,

was social prestige. In England the situation was set forth in the old rhyme: God bless the squire and his relations and keep us in our proper stations."

In Rome the old families decayed. G. K. Chesterton in his "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" apparently felt that in England it had been the same. He paid tribute to "The men that worked for England, they have their graves at home. . . . But they that fought for England . . . they have their graves afar. . . . And they that rule in England in stately conclave met,

"Alas, alas, for England,

They have no graves as yet."

(10) "The men who fought to dethrone Napoleon were inspired as we are today with the idea of freedom. But after Waterloo came the reactionary Congress of Vienna; and reactionary institutions, presided over by old men who had been untouched by the spirit of the French Revolution, continued to grind in the old way. Well might an impartial observer like Goethe ask: 'And what has then been attained or won?' . . .

"If the aristocratic view of life remains as the relatively permanent tissue of our social organism, any temporary flaming up of the passion for democracy in the stress of national peril will spend itself when the peril is over. That is what makes the great wars of liberation such disappointing affairs in human history. After the struggle, the reaction has set in, which is only another way of saying that the great permanent agencies of education and religion have been fundamentally unchanged and have continued to grind in the old way." (J. E. Boodin, "The Social Mind", Macmillan, 1939)

"But trade and Empire are shifting into new patterns to compete with new systems that are developing in central Europe. Unless those who behind the scenes hold the ultimate control are disclosed, and their machinations understood, there can be little change and Britain will again, as she did after the last war, revert to the traditional pattern and fall into the old ruts. . . .

"If hopes are to be realized there must be a fundamental change in those who control. Window dressing with labor members will not do it. Trained in the Public Schools, 'the crew that controls the Empire', those who Lord Astor said 'made Germany feel that she could only get redress of grievances by use of force', remains the same today." (From the 25th edition, 1940-41, of the Handbook of Private Schools, p 49)

For clues as to who holds such 'ultimate control', there are many little publicized books. A few are: L. MacNeill Weir's "The Tragedy of Ramsay MacDonald" (Secker & Warburg, London, 1938), Karl H. Abshagen's "King, Lords and Gentlemen" (Heinemann, London, 1939), Glyn Roberts' "The Most Powerful Man in the World" (Covici-Friede, 1938), H. H. Railey's "Touch'd With Madness" (Carrick & Evans, 1938).

(11) The stalwart qualities of the English are brought out in times of stress like the present, and we, their descendants, are quick to recognize and praise them for qualities which we hope we have inherited. But as we have been conditioned in this country with the growth of corporate wealth to admiration for wealth per se

and those who hold it, the English over a longer period of time have been conditioned to admire their 'betters', those who are a class higher in the caste system.

A century ago, Emerson wrote, "England has many moods, a war-class as well as nobles and merchants. It began with poverty and piracy and trade, and has always those elements latent, as well as gold coaches and heraldry. It has only to let its fops and bankers succumb for a time, and its sailors, ploughmen, and bullies fall to the front. It will prove a stout buccaneer again, and weather the storm. . . . England can only fall by suicide. England, the best of actual nations, and so you see the poor best you have got."

(12) The Committee on Post-War Problems of the Conservative and Unionist Party Organization appointed in October 1941, published a year later a 15,000 word report "Looking Ahead". This considers the relation of the individual to the State, the place of religion in the national life, the creation and maintenance of public morale, the leadership of the nation, and reflects the Tory view on education. An editorial in the *Times Educational Supplement*, Sept. 12, 1942, criticizes, "The sub-committee envisage two national systems of education—one for the leaders and another for the led". *New Statesman and Nation*, Oct. 3, 1942, reports, "The Conservative Sub-committee on Education have evoked a storm of comment and criticism. . . . Attention has been focused on the plan for the conscription of all young people between the ages of 14-18 into a Federation of Youth, because of its disconcerting resemblance to the Hitler Youth Movement". The editors are dubious as to "the effect of a compulsory Federation of Youth, drawing its leaders from the Public Schools, and an educational scheme which prescribes one kind of education for the leaders and another for the led".

The Church Assembly, presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, discussed this "dual system", as reported in the *Times Educational Supplement*, Nov. 21, 1942, which editorialized, "The decision of the Church Assembly . . . does not put an end to dual control, but . . . clears the way for a general advance". So the Tories continue to hold and England to compromise in the face of disaster.

Fred Clarke, Director of the University of London Institute of Education, in "Ends and Means in Educational Reconstruction" in the *Journal of Education*, Dec., 1942, reviews the various proposals put forth by the Conservatives, W. E. A., and T. U. C. He remarks, from the two latter "Nothing is said to suggest that in what we take somewhat naively as just 'educational reconstruction' there may be involved the profoundest issues, still undetermined, of national reordering and national reorientation."

Peter Lyne in a cable from London, Oct. 9, 1942, remarked, "The British Conservative Party's first attempt at a precise definition of its concept of postwar educational reform is leading to some of the most important political discussions this country has heard for a long while." An English writer comments, "Here at last, for first time in half a century, educational principles of an unequal society are set plainly forth." (*Chr Sci Monitor*)

Thirteen famous savants including Julian Huxley and Lancelot Hogben, all of whom attended Public Schools, denounced "Education Minister Butler's appoint-

ment of a committee to consider how public schools and a state system can be developed together." They claimed "the public school system is 'undemocratic', 'socially injurious' and 'divorced from life'." They called "for 'full incorporation of public schools into a unified state-aided system of secondary education'."

Frank C. Hanighen in "The Shape of Things in Britain", *Harpers*, Dec., 1942, reports on his three-month investigation in England. He presents the idealists' picture of England after the war, "the Bright New World as projected by the composite wish-imagination of the British people. . . . To an American liberal the above picture shines with the rosiest colors. . . . After the war, therefore, Britain should be able to establish something near to utopia. . . ."

"But what are the real, practical chances of attaining these objectives economically and politically? . . . To paraphrase what Hitler said about Germany, Britain must export, import, and lend money abroad—or die. . . . The reports of the London Chamber of Commerce, the Association of British Industries, etc., provide a number of shocks." These organizations of hard headed business men see the future necessity for "international barter of the same kind made famous by Nazi Germany under Dr. Schacht and the cause of many of the diatribes against the Third Reich under the rubric of 'You Can't Do Business with Hitler'."

(13) Due to Lease-Lend supplies, *Fortune*, January, 1943, in "Hunger Spreads Over Europe" says "the average British diet is now better balanced in proteins, minerals, and vitamins than ever before. Indeed, last June, Ernest Brown, Minister of Health, informed the House of Commons that 'the health of the British people is in most respects better . . . than it was before the war'. . . . Imports from America and the Empire, accounting for roughly half their food calories, have done much to keep Britons fit and healthy." Britain with her Empire to draw on didn't feed her own people as now under American Lease-Lend.

(14) "England Without India", *Common Sense*, Jan., 1943, by Frances Gunther, explains how England "depends" as Churchill put it, so that England could not "afford" to give up India. But Mrs. Gunther makes it clear that it would only be necessary to reduce some of the waste in English upper class life and to stimulate migration to the commonwealths where people could be self-supporting.

(15) Industrial insurance in England is almost as much of a scandal and graft as in America where only one in sixteen of the premium payers ever receives a return. In England, Beveridge pointed out, in 1939 only \$7,000,000 were paid in shareholders dividends out of \$280,000,000 received in premiums on 103,000,000 industrial insurance policies in force. \$96,000,000 went for expenses and management. The handling of these vast businesses is done by 65,000 agents. "In each of the last three years before the war about 10,000,000 policies were issued, of which about 6,750,000 ended prematurely each year. More than half were forfeited completely." (*Time*, Dec. 14, 1942)

"The Ministry of Information hailed the Beveridge Report as the best propaganda yet produced in the war. But the War Office Blimps are apparently not interested in morale", reported the *New Statesman and Nation*, Jan. 2, 1943. War Secretary Sir James Grigg aroused a storm of protest by its suppression. How this

occurred was apologetically explained by Peter Lyne, March 4, (*Chr Sci Monitor*). Grigg "took the provocative course of recalling all copies of *Current Affairs*, which had not been shown him till after their printing". This is the educational or propaganda journal issued to the British Army. Sir James considered that its presentation of the Beveridge Plan "was not objective reporting. . . . Sir James has heightened his reputation as the most self-willed man in Westminster. A very few officers in the Army unwisely have shown signs of welcoming what they hoped was a still-lingering stopper on progressive thought."

"Beveridge Plans Are Not Enough" C. Hartley Grattan tells in *Harpers* for March, 1943. He takes "some of the wind out of the bellying sails of ill-advised" optimism and shows it is not at all a plan for a "brave new world". It outlines for England "Living Standards in To-morrow's World", which was the title of an article by Grattan in the August, 1940, *Harpers*, which he followed by "There'll Be Some Changes Made" in the July, 1941, *Harpers*. Grattan punctures Norman Cousins' enthusiasm, Fadiman's erudite obfuscation of the plan, and Madam Perkins' receipt for an American Beveridge. He endorses William Shirer's observation that it is "a major contribution to propaganda" and points out that the plan is essentially the one that has been actually in operation in New Zealand since 1938, where Grattan has studied it in detail.

(16) While Beveridge, as reported in *Time*, Dec. 14, 1942, holds to the high ideals, "The object of Government in peace and war is not the glory of rulers or of races but the happiness of the common man". Lord Winster, on the other hand, recently created Labor Peer, reviewing the Beveridge plan for the *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 12, 1942, realistically observes, "The Conservative Party has a very clear conviction that the only reason for being in politics is to be in power". G. D. H. Cole's six-penny pamphlet, "Beveridge Explained", tells us "It is a scheme whose acceptance or rejection will be the test of Capitalism's capacity to adjust to the social needs of the twentieth century."

The Tory "hush-hush" policy is exemplified in *Time's* report, Dec. 28, 1942, quoting the London *Times* and Sir Wilson Jameson, Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health, on the 70% wartime increase in venereal diseases. Dr. Edith Summerskill, M. P., told the Commons: "The Minister of Health has approached this problem like a Victorian spinster reared in a country parsonage and sheltered from the facts of life. . . . The casualties during the last year from venereal disease were far greater than the casualties of the blitz." Bellowed Minister of Health Ernest Brown: "There are moral and ethical and spiritual issues behind this question. . . . I would agree with the Victorians who hold the view that personal purity is the only complete prophylactic." By 245-to-31, the House of Commons resolutely turned its eyes away."

More important things agitate the Tories. No Scotch whisky has been on sale in Britain for a long time. Lord Rosebery announced that 17,000,000 gallons were aging in "abandoned caves and other remote and inaccessible places" and ruefully added, "A single enemy plane . . . dropped a single bomb which fell plumb on . . . 70,000 gallons. That shows what we're up against." (*Time*, Dec. 28, 1942)

THE WIFE OF THE STATE

This awakened faith in education as a way to salvation has flared up not only among intellectuals and educators, but in religious and labor conventions, particularly in England. They look upon it as a means of saving whatever they may find threatened,—civilization, England, the Empire.

The established Church, too, has sought to awaken the highest idealism among the people. Particularly during the past year or so, since Malvern, the leaders of the Church have been in the forefront in planning for a better world.

In this they were following the Pope, whose 'five peace points', first issued early in 1940, met with immediate response from the English religious leaders. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council declared in a letter to the London *Times*, Dec. 21, 1940, "Every child, regardless of race or class, should have equal opportunities of education, suitable for the development of his peculiar capacities". (1)

The Malvern Conference, now famous, followed, January 7-10, 1941. Here where Piers Plowman six hundred years before had sat on the hill and surveyed the state of England, and which had become a place of pilgrimage for Shavians and Fabians, the Archbishop of York, presiding, called for "a new order of society—a new integration of religion, morals, politics, and economics". (2) The Church "stole a march on the Government with a program of post-war aims" for the abolition of the profit system, declared *Time*. (3) The Conference resolved, "The war is not to be regarded as an isolated evil. It is one symptom of widespread disease and maladjustment."

In attendance were 23 bishops, 14 deans, and 500 other Church leaders. Sir Richard Acland, fifteenth baronet, declared, "The whole structure of society . . . is, from the Christian point of view, rotten". It is useless to tinker with the present system since "the private ownership of the major resources of our country is indeed the stumbling block which is making it harder for us to advance towards the Kingdom of God on earth". (4) The novelist Dorothy Sayers attacked the church for its trivial views of

morality accenting sex, and asserted that "to upset legalized cheating, the Church must tackle the government . . . the politician, the press".(5) John Middleton Murry, author and critic, appeared in his favorite recent role, attacking the inertia of the Church in social affairs.(6)

The conference acted as a safety valve to long pent up emotions. The outbursts continued to reverberate. Articles and books followed. The conferences held in the United States and the dominions, however, only faintly reflected the tension in England.

The Report, largely from the pen of William Temple, Archbishop of York, who had called and presided over the conference, was elaborated in the pamphlet "Malvern and After". It declared that "It is a traditional doctrine of Christendom that property is necessary to fulness of personal life", but added the very un-English doctrine, "Where the rights of property conflict with the establishment of social justice or the general social welfare those rights should be over-ridden, modified, or, if need be, abolished".

"Malvern—1941" (Longmans, Green, 1941), reprints the papers read, but "shows that the discussions that followed must have been far more responsible for the Findings than the papers themselves", commented the *New Statesman and Nation* in its issue of Feb. 21, 1942, which reviewed these and a number of other books on Malvern. More recently "The Hope of a New World" (Macmillan, 1941), has come from Temple's pen, which sets forth in more generalized terms the Church's attitude for a post-war world.

Dr. Temple as Archbishop of York had served as chairman of the interdenominational Commission for International Friendship and Social Responsibility. *Time*, February 16, 1942, prognosticated this Commission would merge with the Council on Christian Faith and Common Life, on the retirement of its head, Lang, the then Archbishop of Canterbury. There would result, like the Federal Council in America, a British Council of Churches, in which "most Englishmen expect to recognize the voice of York . . . which is best-known for the way it out Malverned Malvern in its far-to-the-left program for the post-war reconstruction of England". "York is well-liked by Nonconformists as by members of the established Church of England. He is slated to be president of the new British Council of Churches." (*Time*, Mar. 2, 1942) (7)

In February, 1942, Cosmo Gordon Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury announced his intention to retire, to "make way for a younger man".

Time, February 2, 1942, reporting, noted that "only thrice before in the 1,345 years since Augustine landed in Kent has an Archbishop of Canterbury left office before death relieved him. But . . . Cosmo Cantuar . . . felt he had good cause. 'In ordinary times I might have been able to continue . . .', he explained. 'But the times are not ordinary. . . . When this war is over great tasks of reconstruction must await the Church as well as the State. Preparation for these tasks must begin now.' In emphasizing the need for post-war reconstruction, Dr. Lang clearly implied that his personal choice as a successor is . . . William Temple, Archbishop of York."

Shrewd and skeptical English liberals in prognosticating the future influence of the new archbishop are inclined to contrast the past careers of Lang and Temple. *Current Biography*, scanning recent articles in *Time*, *Life*, *New Statesman*, etc., has collated the most reliable information and opinions in regard to both.

Cosmo Gordon Lang was the seventh son of a liberal Scots Presbyterian and grew up in the village of Fyvie, his father's country parish. His father was later Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, as has been his brother since 1935. Cosmo won a scholarship and went to Balliol College, Oxford, where "he showed no symptoms of excessive piety" (*Current Biography*, 1941 volume). After Oxford, "intending a political career he studied law in London for the next three years, did not decide to enter the church until just before he was to be called to the bar. . . . As a curate in grimy industrial Leeds, young Cosmo Lang slept in a condemned tenement on a board bed only two feet wide, ministered to people even poorer than himself." (*Time*, Feb. 2, 1942)

From Archbishop of York, which he had become at the age of 44, he was advanced in 1928 to the Primacy, where responsibility and association with the politically minded led to his being regarded as conservative, though it should be remembered that he promoted the radical measure of dethroning the last king. But that may be regarded as a measure of his staunch support of the Tory Government.(8)

The succession of the Archbishop of York, Dr. Temple, to the Primacy had long been anticipated. For the present Archbishop, *Current Biography*, April, 1942, has referred to an even greater number of periodicals to make the personal picture. "William Temple . . . was 'born in the episcopal purple' in the palace at Exeter. . . . As the only son of an Archbishop of Canterbury ever to reach his father's high office, he spent much

of his early youth in Lambeth Palace," and then, like Lang, went to Balliol, Oxford.

"In 1902 Temple's father (Archbishop of Canterbury from 1896 to 1902) died, and in 1910 William Temple left Oxford to become chaplain to the new Archbishop, Randall Thomas Davidson. . . . In 1910 he became headmaster of Repton, the youngest headmaster of an English 'public school'. . . . In 1914 . . . he became rector of the wealthy and fashionable St. James's Church in Piccadilly. . . . In 1929 Dr. Temple became the Archbishop of York, succeeding Cosmo Gordon Lang. . . .

"In December 1935 Temple came to the United States for a five weeks' visit as the guest of Dr. James De Wolf Perry, bishop of Rhode Island and presiding bishop of the Protestant Church in the United States. Bishop Perry represented the extreme Anglican wing of the Church in America, and before his illness *Time* had reported him as likely to become the 'first American Pope'. In April, 1942, Bishop Perry made the trip to England especially to attend the ceremony of enthronement of Dr. Temple as Archbishop. . . . 'Falstaffian in physique and Oxford to his fingertips' . . . a 'sober theologian' . . . Temple has been a leader in the ecumenical (world-wide inter-church) movement."

With the changes inevitably ahead, it was undoubtedly wise to have the aging conservative Lang give place to the vigorous Temple, who had made his reputation as a radical protector of the people's interest. Dr. Temple as early as 1927 in "Essays in Christian Politics and Kindred Subjects", had written, "To describe the prevailing system as one of 'wage-slavery' is no doubt provocative, but it is a precise and just philosophical designation".

Enthroned, April 23, 1942, in "a blaze of medieval pageantry" in the Cathedral of Canterbury, as 96th Primate of All England, at the age of sixty he assumed all the burdensome responsibilities that accompany the office. (9)

Since Henry VIII's time the Church has been 'the wife of the State', a pillar of conservative and reactionary influence. It must conserve its feudal property and privilege to supplement its direct income. From its ownership of coal mines it draws nearly \$2,000,000 annually, and from farms, hunting preserves, business blocks, etc., an annual revenue of \$32,000,000. (10)

Few realize the political nature of the Church. Its posts, 'livings', benefices, supported by tithes or endowments, investments, perhaps in coal

mines, are appointed for life by a patron, a large property owner of the neighborhood, who need not be a Christian, but may not be "an alien, a lunatic or a Roman Catholic". (Randolph Leigh, "Conscript Europe")

The number of Church of England prelates in the House of Lords is continually protested by the Nonconformists, of whom there are twice as many in England as there are Anglicans. In 1937 the Church of England had a membership of only one in every 13 inhabitants in England and Wales. Consequently to maintain the privileged position of the State Church, the leaders must be politicians and be subservient to the powers that be.

Bishops and Archbishops of the Anglican Church are appointed by the Crown, that is on recommendation of the Prime Minister, who may be a Scotsman like Balfour, a Welsh non-conformist like Lloyd George, or an English Unitarian like Neville Chamberlain. "The present bishops almost all went to Oxford or Cambridge; the only exceptions are one graduate of London and one of Durham." (Abshagen, "King, Lords and Gentlemen", Heinemann, London, 1939)

Late in February, 1942, Dr. Temple published a popular book on "Christianity and Social Order" in Britain's best-selling Penguin series. *Time*, March 2, quoted it as saying, "Our snobbery as a nation is without parallel". *Bulletins from Britain*, British Information Services, published at Radio City, Sept. 30, 1942, reviewing the book recalls, "The whole career of Mr. Temple shows that he does not belong to that group, now slowly dwindling, which believes that religion and politics must be kept in separate compartments. . . . Though Mr. Temple believes that the Church must tell the politicians what ends the social order should promote, he thinks it must leave to the politicians the devising of the precise means to those ends. Hence he devotes most of this book to ascertaining what those ends are, and what principles should guide us in handling our social and economic problems. . . . All this shows the working of a keen but practical intelligence."

The propaganda organs of the British Government forecast a steady conservative course for Temple. As early as March 11, 1942, *Bulletins from Britain*, reminded us, "One sometimes hears it said that Dr. Temple is a 'radical'. As a matter of fact, the native cast of his mind, as his theological outlook clearly reveals, is that of a liberal conservative. He is a radical only in the literal and laudatory meaning of that abused term."

Current Biography, in April, 1942, reported, "Temple's elevation was

seen to have far-reaching implications. . . . Observers who have seen liberalism frozen into Toryism by the cold winds of high office have raised the question: Will Archbishop Temple change the traditional concept of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or will the strength of tradition behind the post of Primate of all England make him modify his own advanced ideas?

"The Archbishop's opinions as to the post-War settlement have changed since the outbreak of the War. In the fall of 1939 he was of the opinion that defeat would be punishment enough for the German people. . . . In June 1941, however, the Archbishop wrote that Germany must be punished as the guilty party, that although forgiveness is a Christian virtue, 'no nation has ever been Christian in a degree that makes that possible, and where it is not possible, infliction of a just penalty is nearer to Christian righteousness than such action as seems to condone wrong'."

Newsweek, October 5, 1942, reporting the new Archbishop's address the last week in September before 6000 in Royal Albert Hall, reminds us that "when Dr. William Temple became the 96th Archbishop of Canterbury last February, churchgoing England asked itself: 'Will the man change office or the office the man?'. . . .

"While the speech, examined word for word, was by no means a revolutionary manifesto, it nevertheless shocked Conservative England. It seemed to promise further ecclesiastical utterances of a more Leftward slant in the future." (11)

The Archbishop brought up the subject of credit, land, profits, and class distinctions, alarming the conservatives to "a spate of angry letters to the *Times*. The gist: 'There is surely enough for the church to do within its own accepted field'." (*Time*, Oct. 12, 1942)

Whaley-Eaton Service Foreign Letter, September 29, 1942, equally alarmed, epitomized, "There must be no caste in society—the profit motive must not be given first place—production must be for the general good—the two great problems are Land and Money—rates must be levied on the land itself (Henry George doctrine) and not on the buildings—money, or credit, has become a monopoly and . . . should be taken over by the State".

The Archbishop's address, published in full in the *Christian Century*, Oct. 7, 1942, reasserts the medieval rights of the Church in no uncertain terms. "The Church has both the right and the duty to declare the prin-

ciples which should govern the ordering of society.(11) It has this right because, in the revelation entrusted to it, it has the knowledge concerning man and his destiny which depends on that revelation and which illuminates all questions of human conduct.

"Of course, it is universally recognized that the Church should lay down principles for the conduct of individuals. What lately is being disputed is the right of the church also to lay down principles for the action of corporate groups, such as trade unions, employers' federations, or national states, or to undertake in any way the direct ordering of men's corporate life."

Other things in the speech sounded equally pre-Reformation. "The profit motive is not simply evil; it can have its own right place. But that is not the first place. . . . The banks should be limited in their lending power to the amount deposited by their clients. . . . When all is said, the trouble with our social life is sin—that strange perversion and fatality of human nature." (12)

Education has long been dominated by the Church.(13) And it is evident that Church leaders must cooperate with the Government. Reform of education or of church policy, then, must go along with, if not follow, change in those who control the Government, and the social set-up.

NOTES

(1) The response to this letter awakened the nation. "If words mean anything, we have a clean breakaway from the idea of an educational system founded upon differences of class instead of differences of natural ability. To begin to put this idea into practice we need not wait till the end of the war. . . . The same point is emphasized by Dr. L. P. Jacks in a letter to the *Times* of December 30", 1940, demanding that "modes of peacebuilding" should be "set on foot . . . while the war is in progress . . . as aids to victory . . . for a new and better world order, and not merely that of victory of one nation over another". (*Journal of Education*, Mar. 1, 1941)

(2) In "Piers Plowman Walks Again: A Note on the Malvern Conference", *Sewanee Review*, July-Sept., 1941, William Orton, Professor of Sociology in Smith College, writes: "At Malvern College . . . gathered the advance guard of the Church of England. . . . The conference was in no sense official. . . . The findings have not been endorsed by the established Church. . . . Many people who knew none too much about it had come to consider that Church moribund—the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual vacuum. . . . The Church had tended to become a celestial alibi for whatever the conservative party saw fit to accomplish." The Malvern resolution "confirms the position taken at the ecumen-

ical conference at Madras in 1938: namely, that it is not enough to change the individual, but that the social order as such . . . constitutes a direct concern of organized Christianity."

(3) Ignored at first by the press, the Malvern Conference was brought to the attention of this country largely by *Time*, which published full cabled reports Jan. 20, 1941, and in subsequent issues continued to follow the reverberations.

(4) Sir Richard Acland since has published the book "What It Will be Like in the New Britain" (Gollancz, 1941), in which he presents "a scheme for the organization of industry under common ownership", endeavoring "to translate the Malvern aspirations into practical proposals". As a member of the House of Commons, he has frequently spoken to this subject. (*New Statesman and Nation*, Feb. 21, 1942)

(5) Dorothy Sayers said at the Malvern Conference: "Suppose that during the last century the churches had devoted to sweetening intellectual corruption a quarter of the energy they spent in nosing out fornication, or denounced cheating with a quarter of the vehemence with which they denounced legalized adultery. But one was easy and the other was not. To upset legalized cheating the Church must tackle government in its very stronghold; while to cope with intellectual corruption she will have to affront all those who exploit it—the politicians, the Press and the more influential part of her own congregations. Therefore she will acquiesce in a definition of morality so one-sided that it has deformed the very meaning of the word by restricting it to sexual offences." (Quoted by Douglas Reed in his "A Prophet at Home", Jonathan Cape, 1941)

In the *World Review*, London, reprinted in the *Living Age*, July, 1941, Miss Sayers declares, "The last three hundred years in Europe . . . we find" the Church "acquiescing in the autonomy of wealth . . . ready to call 'honest thrift' conduct which their predecessors would bluntly have called sinful avarice. . . . Christian businessmen were ready to practice sharp dealing six days a week, and listen comfortably on Sunday to homilies which would 'Compound for sins they were inclined to by damning those they had no mind to—' to wit, those disreputable and disorderly sins which the Church might conveniently scourge without offending a Caesar who had no use for them either."

In an earlier book, "Begin Here" (Gollancz, 1940; Harcourt, Brace, 1941), Miss Sayers had pointed out that "It is we, and not the next generation who must deal with national and international reconstruction. It is now that we must start to work for it, and not 'after the war'. Life is an interminable serial story, packed with exciting episodes. We cannot read up all the back numbers in full, nor can we wait to see the end before we begin to read it. At the head of every instalment stands the summary of the past which is called History, and the exhortation in the largest of type: BEGIN HERE."

(6) John Middleton Murry in his "The Betrayal of Christ by the Churches" (Andrew Dakers, London, 1940), avowing himself "a disciple of William Blake" and asserting his faith "in 'the Divine-Humanity, the One Man, even Jesus'", had asserted that "instead of the Church being able to educate and satisfy" with "a

religious interpretation of" the situation at the present time, "it evades it". He charged that "the Christian case for prosecuting the war, as put forward by Christian leaders, is unworthy of Christianity. It is shallow and self-righteous; it lacks depth and humility. . . .

"The historian of fifty years hence, when he looks back on the 'statesmen' who led the European nations during these bitter and tragic years [between two wars], will be overwhelmed with astonishment and dismay at their complete ignorance of the real forces which determined human history. . . . The Christian Church saw nothing, said nothing, did nothing. Must we not say that the Christian Church has betrayed Man utterly? . . . Totalitarianism is the consequence of the repudiation of Christian obligation by the national societies in a machine-civilization. . . ."

In "Christocracy" (Andrew Dakers, 1942), Murry "sees great difficulties ahead in maintaining any definite form of a Christian social order following victory", if there is continuance of the present "set-up where privilege and possessions weigh so heavily against the underfed and underprivileged". Citing the standards for attainment of the English church leaders 1940 letter, he asserts "of these excellent aims that they would be just as easily developed in an authoritarian government as in a democracy". (*Chr Sci Monitor*, Oct. 17, 1942)

(7) At the inaugural service of the British Council of Churches, with 112 Anglican and Nonconformist members, organized the last week in September, 1942, Archbishop Temple said, "Our differences remain. We shall not pretend that they are already resolved into unity or into harmony, but we take our stand on the common faith of Christendom." The Council stood for the "post-war reconstruction of Europe and the Far East". (*Time*, Oct. 12, 1942)

(8) "Even after Edward's abdication, however, Cosmo Cantuar did not relent. . . . As a result, for some months afterward the Archbishop was the subject of jibes and criticism. . . . One particularly venomous poet contributed: Milord Archbishop, what a scold you are. And, when your man is down, how bold you are. Of Christian charity how scant you are—Ah, Auld Lang Swyne, how full of cant-u-ar!" (*Current Biography*, 1941 volume)

Life, Dec. 25, 1939, in a four-page illustrated intimate sketch of Cosmo Cantuar, as the Archbishop signs himself, says, "He is one of the few intimate friends of J. P. Morgan, upon whose yacht he was cruising the Mediterranean when the Italians invaded Albania. . . . The war has saddened Cosmo Cantuar but he has lived through three major ones already, and it has not thrown him off his stride. His reaction has been characteristic of a man whose heart has never been worn on his sleeve and whose long life has been a nice and human blend of pomposity and grace, of humility and *savoir-vivre*."

(9) William B. Spofford, editor of the *Witness*, the Low Church journal of America, has followed the Malvern Conference closely. April 30, 1942, commenting on the succession, he remarks that some of Temple's intimate friends have said that "those who look with disfavor upon his interest in these subjects [sociology and economics] are glad to have him take the office, believing as they do that

he will have less time 'to dabble in things that are no concern of the Church'." The retiring Archbishop, 'more than anyone else, is responsible for the elevation' of Temple. But even though he was championed by Lang, "it is quite possible that Temple would never have been appointed to Canterbury by the King had it not been" for the succession of events in the Far East. After the fall of Singapore, "there was a loud clamour for changes. The cry was for men of action. . . . Sir Stafford Cripps was placed second in command in British political life. William Temple was named the Archbishop of Canterbury. It signified a move to the left to the people and, momentarily at least, saved the day for the conservative government of Great Britain."

(10) "The Church of England and its affiliates contain some 40 million members, scattered from Hudson Bay to Singapore. It runs 13,550 churches and 8,500 schools in England alone. It has vast lands and an annual income from rents, dividends and contributions of £13,000,000 a year. In this huge ecclesiastical enterprise, the Archbishop of Canterbury occupies a position analogous to that of Chairman of the Board, the Board being the Assembly of the Church of England. Among the spiritual rulers of the world, the Archbishop of Canterbury is rivaled only by the Pope (Catholic), and the Emperor of Japan (Shinto)." ("Archbishop of Canterbury", by Noel F. Busch, *Life*, Dec. 25, 1939)

The Archbishop of Canterbury ranks next to the Royal Family, taking precedence over the Prime Minister. He has two palaces, the one at Lambeth partially destroyed by bombing, and draws a salary of \$75,000. Forty-three bishops draw from \$50,000 down. Only the Bishop of Sodor and Man has so meager a stipend as \$10,000, but he has only 3772 communicants with 55 clergymen to aid him. His income is one-fifth of all the feudal revenue of the diocese. The chief bishop of the non-established Episcopal Church of Scotland gets only \$4750 a year. (Randolph Leigh, "Conscript Europe")

"Thus it is that 'democratic' England boasts the last great State Church in the Modern World—a church of vast landed holdings, of immense political power, and of countless privileges denied to other English religious groups. No class in still-feudal Europe surpasses the English Bishops in these two points: (1) unctuous proclamation of the Christian doctrine of human equality and (2) steadfast adherence to those things that mock equality, such as Kingship, feudal privileges, class distinctions, and the inviolability of wealth." (Leigh)

(11) We find the same idea reflected by Richard R. Pleasants, Master, St. Albans School, in "Freedom in Education" in the *Witness*, Oct. 15, 1942. "The function of instructing the people of the United States in the cultivation and preservation of liberty rightfully belongs to the Church and the educational institutions of this country."

(12) October 16, 1942, (AP), in a short-wave broadcast from London, the Archbishop looking forward to the postwar period, said "that although defeat of the Axis was the immediate objective of the Christian world, this would mean only the beginning of world problems. There will be need of the appropriate political machinery but most indispensable of all is the spirit of fellowship". The

Archbishop's antecedents and connections would suggest that he refers either to the Conservative Party or the 'old school tie'.

"The prestige of the Church as a social force has fallen so low that nothing less than specific deeds will serve to revive the reality of faith. Many times before religious leaders have talked of social change and, when the test came, were found on the side of the status quo. To-day, if the speakers at the Albert Hall . . . are to have any chance of leadership in the future they must decisively put their weight behind some specific social change during the war, and not be content to talk about what is to happen after it." (*The New Statesman and Nation*, Oct. 3, 1942)

Lord Salisbury took issue with the Archbishop's outpourings in a booklet issued in October, 1942, "Postwar Conservative Policy". He accused those who "question the social and political standards, even in our own country", of being "betrayed into advocacy of rash opinions and ill-balanced remedies. . . . In the peace to come, he maintained: The right and power to make and preserve the private fortune must be jealously guarded. . . . The body politic cannot flourish unless people are not only allowed but encouraged to accumulate and retain wealth. . . . 'Equal education of all children is impracticable.'" (*Time*, Oct. 12, 1942)

"Another kind of comment . . . which deserves serious consideration . . . is found in both the *New Statesman and Nation* and the *Tribune*, England's liberal weeklies of opinion. Thus the *Tribune*, which was founded by Sir Stafford Cripps, warns that 'unless a concrete and specific goal, capable of reasonably early attainment', is set for the crusade preached in the Albert Hall, the church may find the only result to be 'daydreaming and wishful thinking on a national scale'." (*The Christian Century*, Nov. 4, 1942)

Newsweek, Feb. 22, 1943, summarizes the situation. "Although economists believe the Archbishop of Canterbury is headed up a blind alley, he maintains that economic theory is indirectly related to morals. . . . Since it is universally recognized that the church has a right to lay down principles of conduct among individuals, why shouldn't it lay down principles governing corporate groups? . . . As for postwar society, the 'primary concern must not be greater comforts or amenities, but responsible citizenship.' . . . In the financial district, they believe the controversy he's stirring up in economics is doing neither the church nor him any good; but the financiers don't mind, feeling he is doing an over-all good by turning the interests of organized labor to the church."

The Archbishop's pronouncements which at first seem so radical, on examination prove to be conservative, even reactionary. While he argues for change from the present system, he would restore the Church to the position and prestige it held in society before the so-called Reformation.

My friend Bernard Iddings Bell, who at my request patiently read this chapter, writes me, March 3, 1943, "With most of it I am in agreement. I do not agree that the English Church is worse off in standing for God's will in social matters than the American 'free' churches. The latter are at the mercy of the givers of funds. If a parson here says 'Booh!', off with his income and the beggar starves. In England a priest has a vested and legal right to his job and his pay, and it's

hell's bells to get him ousted for any cause whatever. I do not agree that religion is used as a cover-up for the privileged. It once was. No longer so. The Church has so lost repute that it is no longer valuable to such persons. I have dealt with this on pp 78-80 of my new book. I do not agree that Temple is likely to turn 'Conservative'. You don't know him; I do."

In "The Church in Disrepute" (Harper, 1943) Bell justifies his reputation as "gadfly" of the Church as it is and proves himself a staunch upholder of the Church as it should be. Both he and the Archbishop are pleading for a restoration of the power of the Church in temporal affairs. The Archbishop apparently would be perfectly happy in the Church as it was before the Protestant rebellion. All his radical propositions of today would have been wholly orthodox up to the fifteenth century. Bell would be rebellious probably even under those conditions. Unable to tolerate hypocrisy, he would be attracting attention to abuses. Sympathetic with man, whom he regards as "unreliable . . . erratic, frequently fooled by his five inaccurate senses, largely irrational, unduly emotional, seldom sane", he puts the responsibility for the present on the ancient institution which was to safeguard man and guide him to heaven, but which in decay functions as "a minor decorative art", practices the methods of big business, and supports preachers of "minor platitudes" who are "almost alone in unawareness of the hurricane". The "earnest chatter" of the Church people about a better postwar world leaves him unimpressed. He would have men live helpfully and cooperatively and not leave world improvement for the next generation. He would have the Church recognize that children are of vastly more importance than adults.

(13) "Royalty, Church-of-Englandism, and the public schools are the interlocking parts of a system which fastens on the English mind a conditioning control more effective and more complete, because more subtle and insidious, than any crude regimentation of Fascism. That mental conditioning renders the overt establishment of Fascism in England superfluous and improbable.

"By its means the ruling interests of Property are invested with a religious character and moral value which it would be blasphemy to doubt, while religious and moral values are, on the other hand, reduced to terms of loyalty to the interests of Property.

"It is therefore not surprising that English patriotic sentiment . . . is a moral and religious sentiment which is proof against the heaviest increase in the income-tax. . . . Without religion English hypocrisy would not be possible." God, in fact, is "ex officio a member of the English government". (Robert Briffault, "The Decline and Fall of the British Empire", Simon and Schuster, 1938)

The million children who attend the 9,000 Church of England elementary schools in England and Wales are, on the average, being much worse taught in infinitely worse buildings than the children in the council schools; and it is hardly suggested that, to make up for this, they are in fact benefiting by a superior religious education." (*New Statesman and Nation*, Jan. 2, 1943)

IDEALS WITHOUT VISION

The ideals held up by educational leaders, speakers and writers are unfortunately seldom realized. But we should not be surprised that these are difficult of realization. Religious leaders, too, in all times have held up high ideals. Systems of religion have been based upon them, priest-hoods created around them, and still few if any would claim that their aspirations have been attained. But religious leaders hardly expect to realize their dreams in this world. Their beliefs, taken on faith, are likely to become fixed, to become institutionalized. Reassertion becomes ritual.

Our creeds, educational or religious, which we recite so glibly we really don't live by, though our fathers may have. Few would deny that they believe in the Holy Ghost. But do they? The things we do believe we don't dare to put in print. Our fathers would not have approved. The dead still restrain our tongue and stay our hand.

After a thousand years of preaching of Christian ideals, some look about the world and ask skeptically if Christianity has been a success. The answer is that it has not been practiced. The ideals held up by Christ evidently do not much affect our present day behavior. Pearl Buck told the Lawrenceville students that civilization is determined by our human behavior, that our behavior had changed, that we were losing our civilization. "War always destroys civilization. . . . In civilized times and places hatred is considered a mean and degrading emotion, but in war-time we are urged to cultivate hatred in order that we may the more quickly break down the manners of civilization and be eager to kill." Here was vision and penetrating realism.

E. A. Hooton warned the same boys against false ideologies and non-sensical ideals: "You are unfortunate because you have been born into a world stuffed with elaborate and useless cultural gadgets and social forms, in which religion is outmoded, education futile and misguided, and human behavior seems to be directed either by baser animal instincts or by what are called ideologies—consisting mostly of impractical well-meaning nonsense or, at the worst, of sheer, brazen counsels of selfishness and evil. You have to pick your way through a maze of propaganda, all of it designed to mold your opinions and influence your actions; some of it

honest, wise, and socially beneficial; much of it lying and put forth from despicable motives. You must acquire enough knowledge, develop enough judgment, and learn to appraise characters and motives sufficiently well to avoid the lures of irresponsible, foolish, mercenary, and evil-intentioned persons, who through the press and the radio secure the hearing of the world.”(1)

What actually determines our behavior we are just beginning to understand. Without the comparative view that the anthropologists have brought us from the study of other peoples and their diverse cultures, we should never have discovered the folkways and the tabus that so largely determine our way of life. From earliest infancy we are trained unconsciously in the mores of those about us. So ingrained are these characteristic ways of behavior that they are not easily changed by merely presenting or preaching an idealistic plan.

Educators find compensation perhaps in holding to their idealistic dreams. But day dreaming has its dangers. Franz Alexander in “Our Age of Unreason” (Lippincott, 1942), Part II, tells us “Human relationships are not governed primarily by reason but essentially by irrational emotional forces. The dominance of irrational forces in human nature has perhaps never been as complete as at the present moment.” The role of the various forces in determining human behavior are analyzed from the standpoint of the psychiatrist under the title “The Fundamentals of Human Behavior”.

The associations that gather during vacation periods afford head masters and school superintendents and their wives social opportunity. There it is the custom to unburden in a laboriously prepared speech or paper, rhetorical abstractions which sound well and at the same time avoid the danger spots. The air is filled with objectives. Bombs burst in air, some fall as duds. Staunch old Romans uphold the mores in indignant periods. Idealists hold forth on what they imagine should be, without relation to what is or may soon be realized. Progressives report on things they have dreamed and hope to put in practice.

The philosophy of educators tends to be progressive. It is easy to idealize in talk or words, but in the doing it is easier to fall into the rut, the traditional. An extended investigation by questionnaire by Eells showed that idealism preached seldom leads to practice.(2)

That's the way it was in 1853 when the Reverend James Walker, president of Harvard, discovered that “Next to religion there is no subject on

which there is so much cant as education". Listening to or reading educational effusions, one feels like the State Department attache who, as Dr. Edgar W. Knight reminds us, in reporting to waiting newspapermen the results of a conference between Secretary John Hay and Chinese minister Wu Ting Fang, added, "Mr. Hay was a bit hazy and Dr. Wu was a trifle woozy".

Educational journals of which there are hundreds, local and national, are filled with the same trite, rhetorical repetition about idealistic purposes. Most of the objectives set up are artificial, meaningless, a screen to hide the emptiness of what's behind. They give evidence of the fuzzy minded confused thinking of committees or commissions which carry exalted names. They arouse no enthusiasm on the part of the teacher or the pupil and so they become intent on mere technique or form. Sounding through these abstractions, one must conclude that American educators lack clearly defined objectives. They speak much of objectives, rarely of attainments. Schoolmasters talk of aims, seldom of hits. (3)

"The current fad at educational meetings is the discussion of some phase of Democracy, especially as it affects or is affected by education. Some of us suspect that those who proclaim loudest the merits of the democratic spirit and of democratic practices in our school program are the most autocratic in their own classrooms and offices," boldly declared George H. Deer. (4)

James S. Plant, in the *Educational Record*, April, 1941, "A Psychiatrist Looks at Teacher Education", remarks on "the teaching of civics. The schools in my area are busy with 'preparing children for democracy'. I observe classes busy as bees learning the structure of our government and the responsibilities placed upon the voters, where even so personal a matter as the child's going to the basement (if a person can't decide this for himself, what can we expect of him) is subject to authoritarian rules."

A "word to conjure with nowadays is 'democracy'", writes Louis Foley, Western Michigan College, in "Word-Education and the Word, Education", *School and Society*, Aug. 23, 1941. There are those who talk about "pure" democracy, in which supposedly all "the people" equally "exercise governmental power". Our democratic school system on "close scrutiny" we find is oligarchic or dictatorial in its control, and despotic from the standpoint of the pupil.

"Life with Father" reveals the home as an autocratic despotism. But in most American homes matriarchal diplomacy wins the victories. To a

man who demanded the establishment of democracy in Sparta, Lycurgus replied, "Go thou, and first establish democracy in thy household".(5)

About "character", another 'goal' of educators, Woodrow Wilson in 1908 in his address before the Phi Beta Kappa, Yale, said, "I hear a great deal about character being the object of education. I take leave to believe that a man who cultivates his character consciously will cultivate nothing except what will make him intolerable to his fellow-men. If your object in life is to make a fine fellow of yourself, you will not succeed, and you will not be acceptable to really fine fellows. Character . . . is a by-product. . . . The place in which character would be cultivated, if it be a place of study, is a place where study is the object and character the result."

" 'Education for citizenship' has become a popular slogan. . . . Here we have an idea that is safe enough because it is not likely to be disputed", Foley reminds us. But the boys and girls in school and college are already citizens. It is a question of what kind, and that depends upon those who control. "The question may remain as to how that desired result can best be accomplished." There is "doubt whether patriotism can be 'taught' ".

"No amount of emphasis upon citizenship in public schools, no amount of flag-saluting and oath-of-allegiance repetition will produce citizens with a genuine sense of loyalty to their country. In fact, these may be the very means for destroying patriotism by making it a cult instead of a living reality," says Eduard C. Lindeman, social philosopher, in *Survey Graphic*, Oct., 1939.

Writing on the confusion in "The Teaching of Politics", J. Donald Kingsley charges that the undergraduate course is "merely a pale reflection of work at the graduate level", while the specialist, because of the "intensity of his concentration", develops "intellectual astigmatism".(6)

The idealistic citizen, envisioned by Kingsley, would not be a practical man. He would prove refractory material to the political vote broker or the drill sergeant. Too many would break up our political party system and might even bring about a change in our social system. The instruction in our schools and colleges prevents many developing that way.(7)

"To insure a well-informed and intelligent people is a most difficult task. History affords no good example of such a nation. It is by no means certain that it is even possible. The eugenicists will assert that their advice must be followed", declares Eliot Blackwelder.(8)

"The trouble with democracy is that it has to wait for an enlightened

public opinion", remarked Goethe. Another trouble is that, as Grover Cleveland idealistically remarked, "A public office is a public trust". But Roscoe Pound, who has seen how democracy works, realistically remarks, "The administrator is not appointed to office because he is an expert but he is an expert because he has been appointed".

"Nowhere in our social organization is autocracy more firmly entrenched than in the process which has for its aim the training of democratic citizens. Would you like to live in a country governed as you govern your school? . . . Let us be frank at any rate. If we are convinced that democracy is a failure and must be a failure, then let us welcome Hitler. He has made the most successful experiment in autocracy that the world has ever known", writes John Eloy Boodin of U.C.L.A., one of America's outstanding social philosophers, in "The Social Mind" (Macmillan, 1939), brought out on his seventieth birthday. If our teachers and education administrators "are nondescript and lack initiative, the chances are that the system selected them for that reason, and has kept them in subjection accordingly." And Shaw tells us that in England the schoolmaster who taught citizenship would "find himself penniless in the streets, if not in the dock".(9)

In "Social Objectives of Education" Walter Loban endeavors "to determine the main problems" and "to summarize the objectives". He sees the schools serving "directly in the solution of vital human problems". But he avoids getting close to the pith of his subject.(10)

The end purpose of education must, of course, lie outside the control of mere educators. We can see that clearly in other countries. Even the president of the Imperial University in Tokyo is unable to avoid the maintenance of the doctrine that the Emperor is a direct descendant from the Sun-Goddess. In Germany no educator would dare to challenge the doctrines set forth by Hitler under which he rallies the people to unified support. In every country there is some such central control, more or less idealistic or autocratic, and perhaps difficult to detect.(11)

But where the real aims of those who control education are inadmissible, false ideals have to be set up for public consumption. For example, if the real end of education is to inculcate the doctrine that every one should take advantage of everyone else to his own immediate profit, and at the same time our moral code says such things should not be,—then the real end cannot be admitted, and some such goal as the teaching of 'democracy' has to be set up and preached.(12)

The simplest observations are often the last to be made. Startling truisms of this sort we find in "About Ourselves" by James G. Needham (Jaques Cattell Press, 1941). He writes, "The most peculiar thing about man is his behavior. This is dependent upon a responsive mechanism consisting of a nervous system and sense organs, connected with the muscles and glands that act in response to stimulation."

The stimulation to our city living people of the present generation is not as it was of old. They have relatively little contact with nature, little first hand experience with reality. Their experience is with the fantasy of the newspaper or magazine story, the novel, the screen or stage. Our office and factory people see little more than a desk top or a machine and hear little except click-clack and clap-trap when they are not at the movie or radio. So the movie and the radio increasingly provide our experience by proxy, furnish our mental content which determines our behavior.

Some day ideals, like morals or corals or other jewels, will be appraised for their actual value, their beauty, color, like other baubles, or utility (for whom?). Dangled before the populace, they fascinate them, hold their attention, sometimes excite them to the desired response. What we need is more realism, definite objectives, goals to attain. Without these there can be little action, little achievement. We need also some understanding of our limitations, some appraisal of what we can accomplish.

NOTES

(1) From "Men of Tomorrow" (Putnam's, 1942) with an introduction by Allan V. Heely, a series of lectures at Lawrenceville School in which "Nine Leaders Discuss the Problems of Youth".

Pearl Buck, speaking on the topic "Manners and Civilization", further said, "War is not a natural disaster. It is a disaster wilfully brought about by a certain type of mind, active in a certain situation of general discontent, and in order to carry on war successfully this mind has to appeal to evil emotions, hatred and the willingness to do murder and to destroy the property of others. . . . The person whose civilization slips away most quickly is the one who is the weakest. His progress has been the slowest, his education the most superficial, because he has not been able to learn much."

Hooton's topic was "Science and Youth" in which he made a strong plea for the biological point of view. "Education has taught man facts and theories and vocational techniques; it has neither taught him how to think nor how to behave. . . . Our entire system and theory of education are misguided, in that we lay stress almost entirely upon human culture and practically not at all upon the nature of

man as an animal. . . . You must learn to know yourself biologically and psychologically and to appraise your fellow beings and the whole of human society in these literally vital aspects. . . . Have you any comprehension of the structure of your organism and why it sometimes functions well and at other times misbehaves? . . . The middle-aged and old who direct the affairs of mankind, mostly in a muddling fashion, constantly refer with alarm and resentment to 'the revolt of youth'. . . Your revolt should be directed against man's appalling biological ignorance and against the deadly obsession that creeds, vocational or liberal educations, laws, and idealistic peace programs can convert criminals and cure mental defectives. The only kind of a revolution which can help human affairs is a biological revolution. . . . Learn what life is . . . not solely in terms of dead history, the intricacies of language, the phony laws of economics, or the abstractions of philosophy, but in actual acquaintance with biological organisms—plant and animal."

Hooton, in his latest volume "Man's Poor Relations" (Doubleday, Doran, 1942) further deflates human bumptiousness. "If we have a brief, preliminary look at ourselves, we shall be able to appreciate the other primates whom we patronizingly call 'poor relations'. Nearly all the human characteristics which we regard with complacent pride are really freaks of nature, or, better, the excesses of organic evolution gone haywire. If we should see ourselves as the apes see us, the view would be appalling. I once tried to get an ape's-eye view of man, and the prospect was so unflattering to our own species that it put me on the defensive and I had to call the thing 'Apology for Man'."

"Old World monkeys are vicious, cruel, domineering, hypersexual, and given to tyrannical social groupings." They seem to impress Hooton as having totalitarian tendencies. He speaks of the "sort of Nazi regime which seems to hold sway among the baboons and the macaques", whose females "seem, in general, to be veritable nymphomaniacs", which he contrasts, like a good American, with "the very peaceable and almost communistic organization of the howler monkeys" and red spider monkeys of the democratic New World.

As Hooton emphasizes, education has filled us with facts and theories but has taught us neither "how to think nor how to behave". 'Behavior' has been bad behavior to be inhibited or punished. 'Instinct', which once carried the burden of most types of behavior, through sharper observation and keener analysis has been broken up into phases of behavior which, we now know, must be learned.

Dr. Judah Marmor, addressing the Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis, Boston, May 19, 1942, startled them by citing experimental studies which demonstrated that insects, in which we supposed the behavior to be almost solely instinctive, the result of inherited nerve and reaction patterns, are actually superior in learning ability to all other invertebrates with the possible exception of mollusks. Ants can readily be taught to learn maze habits. "Baby ants of three mortally hostile species were put into a glass case with the pupae of six other hostile species. Unlike their belligerent elders, the babies nursed the pupae, and when these hatched the colony lived on in peace" (*Newsweek*, June 1, 1942). In a brief but fully documented elaboration of this speech (*Psychiatry: Journal of the*

Biology and Pathology of Interpersonal Relations, Nov. 1942) he cites investigations that show that even "so fundamental a reaction as the sexual behavior" of apes and monkeys must be learned. "Both Bingham and Maslow have observed that in contrast to the smooth efficient performance of experienced males, young male apes or monkeys, or adults that have had no opportunity for sexual experience or sexual observation, reveal themselves completely ignorant of how to proceed when first mated, and go 'through a long series of fumbling approximations and adjustments that look remarkably like trial-and-error learning'."

(2) Walter Crosby Eells, director of the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, in the *Educational Record*, Jan., 1938, reports on "Educational Philosophy of Schools: Theory vs. Practice". He quotes Sir John Adams, British educator, who "argued that 'the principles' and 'the practices' of education as taught in teacher training institutions were like oil and water—they hardly ever mixed. Often, indeed, 'never the twain will meet'. . . . The philosophy of education held by the administrators and staffs" of the two hundred schools studied shows little relation between philosophy or theory and actual practice. It is all charted to show that they are more progressive in their philosophy than in their practice. Their philosophy is a screen, a window dressing, behind which they follow traditional practice.

(3) "Educational Objectives in Vocational Agriculture", a publication of the U. S. Office of Education, states that the "aim of vocational education in agriculture" is to train "for proficiency in farming". The "major objective of v. e. in a. are the objectives that must be attained to secure proficiency". From this it would seem that an objective was a portion of an aim, which gives one the feeling a snake must have when he tries to swallow his tail.

Edgar W. Knight, educational satirist of the University of North Carolina, tells us "More than fifteen hundred social objectives of English . . . and more than eight hundred generalized aims of the social studies have been listed in courses of study in the schools of this country. . . . The objectives of a junior-high-school course were so numerous as to require many pages merely for their listing." "The number of nostrums" provoke endless discussion. But "the general condition" of the patient "has not improved". (*School and Society*, Nov. 23, 1940)

(4) Deer continues in the *Peabody Journal of Education*, Sept., 1939, "The real issue of democracy in education seems not to be whether teacher representatives sit on the board of education, participate in curriculum revision, or approve salary schedules and tenure laws. A benevolent despot may do these more capably and often to the better advantage of the teachers themselves. The real issue seems rather to be whether there prevails between administrative officer and teacher, between teacher and student, between students themselves, such relationships and such modes of practice as foster self esteem, absence of fear and restraint, and freedom of expression among all concerned."

(5) "Education has been and is only partially democratic in its organization. From kindergarten to university the spirit of democracy is violated at every step. The board of control is almost invariably a group of well-meaning citizens sin-

cerely interested in the school but quite confused as to the real implications of democracy." ("Are Our Schools Really Democratic?" by Charles F. Sawhill Virtue, associate professor of philosophy, University of Louisville, *School and Society*, Apr. 6, 1940)

(6) In the *Journal of Higher Education*, Apr., 1941, J. Donald Kingsley goes on to explain that the college professor is obsessed by his "quest for what he calls objectivity. Indeed, it may be argued, as Karl Mannheim has so brilliantly done in 'Ideology and Utopia', that he can never succeed, for even the perception of phenomena is conditioned by the value-system of the observer. . . . We have forgotten the lesson of Faust, that knowledge, of itself, may be useless or useful, harmful or beneficial, depending upon the purposes or ends for which it is employed. . . . Many undergraduate courses in political science today are almost completely irrelevant to the needs either of the student or of society. This is especially true, perhaps, of the institutional inventory known as American Government."

(7) In his autobiographical "Chip Off My Shoulder" (Princeton University Press, 1940), Thomas L. Stokes, a native of Atlanta, and Washington correspondent, gives us intimate pictures of political life between two wars.

"Though I took much American history, I learned precious little about our democracy, that is, as it was working out. My political science course told me how democracy operated, that is, theoretically. I knew all the forms. But I did not learn how those forms were being twisted and used to suppress real democracy." Of the House and Senate, "in time I learned, of course, that a handful of men really directed each body and I learned that they were not the real rulers, not their own masters. They were merely the puppets dancing to the pull of strings which led back elsewhere, led—for a long period of time for a great many of them—back to a few men sitting in fine offices far away, America's financial and industrial leaders."

(8) From Eliot Blackwelder's address as retiring president of the Geological Society of America, Dec. 26, 1940 (*Science*, Apr. 18, 1941), who adds, "More pessimistic commenators, like Disraeli, were confident that the experiment could end only in disaster because they believed that even the best popular education that was practically attainable would be inadequate".

(9) "The Schools cannot teach the ideals of democracy or any other set of ideals which are contrary to the mores of the community" (MacKay, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Nov., 1940). MacKay suggests the secondary school pupils do research within the school in how democracy, if any, works. "Most educational research is within the comprehension of high-school pupils under expert guidance, but the schools should not conduct research unless they are willing to accept the findings. If democracy is to function, all must be prepared to adjust themselves to demonstrated facts. Students are constantly challenging the value of certain school procedures. Are the school people willing to subject these procedures to research? The students would be most readily convinced of their error if the research showed values of which they were not cognizant. . . .

"Too long have school people spoken as ones having authority when all their

authority was secondhand and related to things long past! . . . As social conditions change and develop, so democracy will have to change and develop. This leadership cannot become static, it can never rest, it must go 'on and on and on' . . . It can develop gradually but steadily and democratically."

(10) In *Educational Trends*, March-April, 1941, Walter Loban reports on his combing of American Historical Association's reports on Social Studies, the publications of the National Educational Association, the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, as well as the writings and speeches of independent thinkers like Kilpatrick and the Beards.

(11) Idealistic as well as optimistic is the statement of the Educational Policies Commission that education is committed "to the maintenance and improvement of American society as now constituted and unfolding, and to the use of knowledge and practical arts in a manner conducive to these ends. . . . Among its many obligations, public education is charged with disseminating the knowledge and keeping alive the spirit necessary to the functioning of democracy.

"The primary business of education, in effecting the promises of American democracy, is to guard, cherish, advance and make available in the life of coming generations the funded and growing wisdom, knowledge and aspirations of the race. This involves the dissemination of knowledge, the liberation of minds, the development of skills, the promotion of free inquiries, the encouragement of the creative or inventive spirit and the establishment of wholesome attitudes toward order and change."

But when the Commission goes on to say that "neither democracy nor real education can exist without each other", it is merely tossing abstractions about. The trick I suppose is interpreting "real". But we read on, "Our democracy needs education". So does Japanese Shintoism and the control of the state through the inculcation of the myth of the sungoddess.

Quoting the above words of the Policies Commission, George L. Anderson in "Education for Democracy in Retrospect" (*School and Society*, Nov. 23, 1940) writes, "Democracy has never been imperiled from without but is always weakened from within. Only its own complacency or its feebleness destroys it. The job of answering the threat from without, if one actually exists, is a positive job of exposing and correcting every defect in our society and building a structure that does not provide even a toe-hold for alien 'ismic groups. . . . American democracy demands equality of treatment and opportunity and rejects privilege whether it be mere social custom or the exploitation of other members of society." 'The American Dream' may through war hysteria become a nightmare.

(12) Educators "solemnly talk of all sorts of fine purposes of education. Yet they teach on entirely different principles when they get into the classroom. . . . America needs, not better ideals of education, but educators who will not pretend to follow them unless they really do. This pretense extends down through the whole school system", indicts Howard K. Beale in "Are American Teachers Free?" (Scribner, 1936).

WE TEACH WHAT'S LEFT

It is more difficult to act than to propose, and there are always obstacles. So the ideals professed by educators at their meetings are rarely carried through in their teaching. In every age, however, there have been great men who have seen and shown clearly how education might be improved. The ideas of Comenius as carried out in Europe we learned of in the forties from the report Horace Mann brought back, and again in the seventies when Colonel Parker returned from Europe. These practices appealed to reason, but contravened the folkways. So each time we reverted, for it is difficult to overcome the belief, or rather the feeling, that whatever is always has been, and should be preserved.(1)

Curriculum revising is as ancient as tribal life. Though the general belief is that what is taught has always been taught, that the curriculum is unchanged, there is no subject in our curriculum that was not introduced as the result of great pressure against stubborn opposition. It may have been an individual or a group who saw something to be gained. The purpose may have been fanatically altruistic, as in the temperance movement.

The pressure that once swirled controversially about religious tenets now centers over what we call the social studies. These timidly and tentatively attempt some understanding of how men may modify their behavior in living together. Fear that they may lead to disclosures dangerous to some interests has established a prejudice against them. This flares up periodically against such earnest advocates as Rugg which has recently led to the burning of his books.

Sociology in the colleges has met with antagonism from suspicious trustees who associate the term with the half baked talk they have heard about 'socialism'.

The scientific study of history apart from the glorification of one's own country and heroes is a relatively modern thing, first inaugurated at Harvard by Henry Adams at the instance of President Eliot. Still it has been cautiously the custom to avoid bringing history up to the time of the living lest some established privileges be adversely reflected on by the realistic trend now prevalent. Conservative associations and vested in-

terests have spent much money on professors, textbook makers, and teachers to prevent such excesses. Congressional investigations from time to time frustrated these well laid plans.(2)

Once a subject is introduced, a new vested interest grows up about it, so that even if the usefulness of the subject is past, it becomes difficult to dislodge it from the curriculum. Those who have studied the subject feel that it gives them a kind of prestige. Teachers trained in the subject would lose their livelihoods if the subject were eliminated. Textbook publishers would suffer loss on their investment.

Economic changes do result in bringing new directives from those who hold the ultimate control of education, so that educators have to set up new objectives. "Manpower" McNutt, in sending out what were formerly called bulletins to his subordinates, calls them "directives". A "directive", it appears, is a force that establishes direction.

The rebuilding of the curriculum on some ideal plan, so much talked about today among educators, is a relatively new idea. President Eliot in the nineties argued for the 'enrichment' of the curriculum, to bring about which committees were set up. They had no idea then of 'building' from the ground up.

Our folkways are resistant to change. The district school board, following the ways of their fathers, have little incentive to take initiative in making changes in what should be taught, even if they could envision them. To introduce a new method into the educational mores requires some great force, personal, environmental, or economic.

Arithmetic, English grammar, and Latin, even such firmly entrenched subjects, were introduced against intense opposition. But their proponents could show that they would serve an immediate purpose. And so against tradition and privilege, subjects needed at the time were introduced into the curriculum, where they remain to this day, though the need for them may have passed.(3)

In the opposition which usually develops before the new crowds out the old, the movement frequently crystallizes about a personality of force, so that we later come to think of that individual as having been the innovator. So we give credit to William of Wykeham for Latin in our curriculum, to Cobbett for English grammar.(4)

Latin as a study for younger boys owes its introduction in the 14th century to William of Wykeham, "a genuine innovator". "Wykeham, who had endowed New College at Oxford for the training of seventy scholars

in theology, canon and civil law, and the arts discovered that his candidates were pitifully poor and woefully ignorant of Latin", Mack tells us in his "Public Schools". So he established Winchester, a "boarding-school for prospective secular priests" too poor to pay for instruction in the necessary preliminaries to his theological college.

English grammar came into the schools as the result of the efforts of an earnest man in his persistent struggle for greater liberties for the people. The early 19th century was an important time in the winning of our liberties, which culminated in the Chartist movement and the Corn Laws and much advance and reform. The advocates of liberty, coming from the lower classes, were handicapped by their inability to use the English language correctly and effectively in presenting petitions and defending their prerogatives.

William Cobbett, one of the reformers, was obliged in 1817 to flee to America. Returning to England, he was elected to Parliament and served during the period of reform up to 1835. As result of his agitation, English grammar was finally accepted as a subject of the curriculum.(5) It helped many a working man and common man to better present his plea. Through the schools it helped to break the power of the sword and the scaffold. But it was from Long Island during his exile that Cobbett wrote his letters on "English Grammar" for a working boy, ten thousand copies of which were sold within a month:

"While you will see . . . the banished William Prynne returning to liberty . . . then accusing, bring to trial . . . the tyrants from whose hands he and his country had unjustly and cruelly suffered . . . you ought all to bear in mind that without a knowledge of grammar, Mr. Prynne could never have performed any of those acts . . . which have caused his name to be held in honour. . . .

"When you come to read the history of those laws of England by which the freedom of the people has been secured . . . you will find that tyranny has no enemy so formidable as the pen."(6)

"The educational system of North-Western Europe was largely moulded by three independent factors in the period of the Reformation. One was linguistic in the ordinary sense. To weaken the power of the Church as an economic overlord it was necessary to destroy the influence of the Church on the imagination of the People. The Protestant Reformers appealed to the recognized authority of scripture to show that the priestly practices were innovations. The invention of printing was the

mechanical instrument which destroyed the intellectual power of the Pope.

"Instruction in Latin and Greek was a corollary of the doctrine of the open bible. This prompted the great educational innovation of John Knox and abetted the more parsimonious founding of grammar schools in England. The ideological front against popery and the wealthy monasteries strengthened its strategic position by new translations and critical inspection of the scriptural text." (Lancelot Hogben, "Mathematics for the Million")

Geometry came to be included in European education as a part of classical scholarship, with the renaissance of Greek culture. "Plato taught that geometry was the highest exercise to which human leisure could be devoted." (7) Under the Ptolemies Euclid flourished at Alexandria. The beginnings of most abstract thought, including mathematics, "the language of size", came from the East. The Arabs much later derived from India algebra, to which they gave its name.

Arithmetic, ciphering, the keeping of accounts, little valued in England before the 18th century, became of importance with the development of the merchant class and their "Glorious Revolution". In northern Europe its importance grew with the commerce of the Hanseatic League. (8) The Florentine system of bookkeeping, which we still follow, reaches back through the commercial accounting of Byzantium to Chaldea.

In the news sheets of Boston of the early 1700's we find frequent advertisements of private schools for "cyphering". With the development of commerce, supercargoes sailing from New England ports found 'ciphering and accounts' contributed to their success. In the 1790's we find arithmetic an important subject in the Harvard College curriculum.

So the curriculum yields to pressure of material interests when they are strong enough to overcome tradition.

A subject established in the curriculum necessitates institutions for training in it, and a body of teachers who have made a large investment of time and money in their special training. Publishers, too, invest large sums in the preparation and manufacture of textbooks for the teaching of the subject.

Suppose as a war emergency measure all instruction in, let us say, Latin were to be eliminated for the duration as not economically conducive to the war effort. Thousands of high school teachers, college professors, would immediately be idle. Millions of dollars invested in texts and all

the apparatus of teaching the subject would be an almost total loss. Periodicals devoted to the subject would suspend, editors and writers lose their jobs.

No wonder then, with such a stake, with such a vested interest, that there develops organized and concerted opposition from classical clubs and associations, when any suggestion is made that Latin be given less importance in the curriculum. (8a)

English statesmen are still trained for their jobs in their Public Schools by composing very bad poems in Latin. At Groton, where our statesmen are trained, Latin is still held in high esteem. The school *Quarterly*, March, 1939, indicated that it was to give up all that was moral and spiritual "for a student to abandon Latin and Greek only for the sometimes ill concealed reason that they have no commercial value".

Those who pride themselves on their classical training are quick to speak up as to its virtues. Thomas Lamont of the House of Morgan, who is occasionally seen with a Latin text in his hands, has said, "The real student is always needed, and to my mind the classics do more to develop him than any other single study". (9)

Such studies keep the minds of inquiring youth off more troublesome subjects and may even serve to stunt personalities. Frankly and sarcastically the N. Y. *Times* declares, "Business men must be regulated, but not kindergartens; there the rule is laissez-faire. . . . The new education is beset by the fear of stunting the child's personality. Actually there are too many unstunted personalities running loose in the world."

"Latin is said to help with other foreign languages", writes James Mursell of Teachers College in the "Defeat of the Schools" in the *Atlantic*, Mar., 1939. But "students who have taken Latin show up no better in other languages than those who have not; nor do they read better, write better, spell better, or use larger vocabularies in their native language". (10)

"Who is Killing the Classics?" asks A. Lawrence Lowell in the *Atlantic*, June, 1941. And he blandly states that it is the teachers of the classics.

"How dead are the classics?" asks John Erskine, speaking to the Foreign Language Conference in the fall of 1938, and is reported to have answered, "Just as dead as the persons who are teaching them".

Mathematics teaching was long kept alive in our secondary schools on the theory that it provided mental discipline. The teaching of mathematics requires specialization and long training. Even before the present

emergency, mathematics teachers were well organized, with their own associations and their own special organs. 25,000,000 pupils were receiving an average of 2500 hours of mathematical instruction during their schooling. All the mathematics the average adult uses could be given in less than 100 hours much more interestingly, and so that it would stick.

"Mathematics is being energetically taught, but it is not being learned to a degree that would, judged by common-sense standards, seem worthwhile", Mursell writes. "If you have not learned to think in its special language you have not learned mathematics at all." Numbers, ratio, on which we start children is abstract. Solid geometry, which has to do with the form and the three dimensions of objects that we constantly teach, is fundamental. One can learn it tactilely, children may in the cradle. Primitives knew a whale of a lot about solid geometry before they could count their fingers.

In "Mathematics for the Million", in which Lancelot Hogben believes, he tells us, "Three centuries ago, when priests conducted their services in Latin, Protestant reformers founded grammar schools so that people could read the open bible. The time has not come for another Reformation. People must learn to read and write the language of measurement so that they can understand the open bible of modern science. . . . The majority of people living today in civilized countries cannot read and write freely in size language, just as the majority of people living in the times of Wycliff and Luther were ignorant of Latin in which religious controversy was carried on."

Over six billion hours are annually devoted by children in this country to the study of what we call 'mathematics'. All that they learn about the language of size might be imparted in less than one-tenth of the time and in a way to make the subject so interesting that the majority would want to go on enlarging their knowledge and use of this language. To most it is mere meaningless memorizing, drill, rote work, taught by teachers who for the most part have no conception of what it is all about.

When we grow up we are interested in keeping a checkbook,—or should be,—balanced. Some few attempt to understand tax requirements. Most have to pay someone to do their arithmetic for them, for in the presence of figures they are palsied. So things are put over on us and we are imposed upon by the installment plans, banks, tax collectors, in a way we wouldn't tolerate if we understood.

The growing conception of size has been one of the most stimulating

things in the development of the human intellect. Ask, or better, listen to Harlow Shapley who spends his time among the outermost galaxies and looks back upon the great milky way as but one tiny spot of light.

But the teaching of mathematics has been enormously improved in recent years by the elimination of useless subjects like 'partial payments'. And today the teaching of higher mathematics has enormously increased due to the demands of the military. The development and improvement of the art of navigation or of the science of ballistics calls for thorough training in mathematics, but for practical purposes little more is needed than the use of tables and simple formulae. Of the thousands of youths now giving so much time to mathematics, some few will eventually use the subject to some purpose.

With expeditionary forces going to the four ends of the earth, with airplane stations maintained in the summer of 1942 in twenty-five foreign places, and with the prospect of policing the far regions of the earth, there is today demand for linguistic ability as never before. So classes have been organized, and the resources of our schools and universities called upon to teach languages such as Swahili and Malay, for which teachers are almost wholly lacking.

"Modern languages . . . were added to the curriculum . . . in the nineteenth century . . . to satisfy the requirements of a growing volume of foreign correspondence and an ever-increasing demand for technical experts for commercial firms and government departments," Hogben writes in "Retreat From Reason". But "a very few superior or linguistically apt persons will persist long enough to develop a mastery sufficient to apply the skills to practical interests," Thorp tells us in the *Educational Record*, Oct., 1938.

"What is the use of learning a language to a point below that of mastery?" asks Mursell. "No one can be said to have a mastery of any language unless he can read, write, or speak it, and not much of a mastery unless he can compass all three. . . . How many pupils achieve any such freedom with French, German, or Spanish? Very few!"

Of the hundreds of thousands of American children who annually 'take' French or some foreign language, a very small percentage ever use the language either to communicate or to get ideas through reading, or to enlarge their understanding of other peoples. But that is looking at individual modern languages only from a more or less utilitarian point of view.

The study of language as a whole has hardly entered into even the university curriculum. Sapir's little book on "Language", immensely stimulating in opening new vistas, remains almost unknown. Since the time of Max Müller we have had courses in comparative philology, it is true, and more recently semantics has come upon the academic horizons.

And still there are few things more interesting than words, every one of which has a history and reflects the history of a people who have originated it, modified it, and used it. All this is denied to our students in schools. As to how language, speech and writing arose and the "development of socially binding ideas through the medium of speech and writing . . . the new generation . . . has hardly a shred of an idea", writes H. G. Wells in "The Poison Called History", *Survey Graphic*, June, 1938.

'Civics' is one branch of the social sciences that is taken up in our schools as an apology for teaching us something about our government and how it works. We Americans are proud of our representative government and idealistic about democracy, but we know little about how it works. Paul Hanus, late emeritus professor of education at Harvard, crusading for better teaching of government, declared that the present subject in the curriculum "fails to bring home to the pupils the contrast between good government and bad".

For a realistic description of the workings of democracy in Great Britain and America, one must go to the Russian Ostrogorski. But there are beginnings in our common schools and high schools of actual observation of local government, of what the precinct captain does, of how the caucus functions. Richard Welling, through his National Self Government Committee, has long worked intelligently and zealously to promote better and more realistic teaching of civics.

In our universities, especially the older Eastern universities, the teaching and lecturing on government is placed in safe hands, under men who have been conditioned to the present system and are hesitant about applying the standards of Professor Hanus to practices of the government nearest at hand. It is safer to keep to theories of government, of the state, of sovereignty, than to dig into the dirt about them. That's left for archeologists.

Economics, which has to do with our national housekeeping, is of course a phase of collective human behavior. It might and some day perhaps will follow the scientific method. But the classical economics of our universities is based on premises which the open minded, scientifically

trained inquirer knows today to be untrue. At Harvard, economics was once political economy, split off from moral philosophy, which came out of theology.

Asked by a Swedish economist what young America is taught about economics, the late Professor James Harvey Rogers of Yale, author of "Capitalism in Crisis", replied, "I laugh to say they are still taught a brand of economics hardly distinguishable from that of John Stuart Mill. And what will probably be funnier still to you, economics is frequently taught as a body of doctrine and of principles to be learned and retained."

Science in the schools? Of course. They offer 'general science', badly and briefly taught, and in physics and chemistry barren laboratory work devised half a century ago for college entrance. Few schools recognize biology, which as taught leaves the impression that it's something loathsome like dissecting a frog.

"Does the study of science", Mursell asks, "teach scientific thinking?" And he answers 'No'. "There is practically no evidence at all that science as taught in school makes one more careful about hypotheses, more willing to suspend judgment, more open-minded towards alternative views, more able to distinguish truth from hokum. . . . With both physics and chemistry it has been shown that failure is most conspicuous in the learning of those techniques and principles of analysis which are the chief values of these subjects, and on which their practical application principally depends."

It is not for lack of knowledge or inspiration, or of taking thought, that we have failed to add a cubit to the stature of our teaching. The consciousness of guilt as to the inadequacy of our instruction is evidenced in the continual surveying, revising, and discussing of what shall be taught, what is being taught, and what it leads to.

Of educational surveys there is no end. Smith's bibliography gives more than 2500 references to school surveys, and Eells lists 600 of colleges. Hundreds of thousands of pages of weary dreary reading, seldom referred to, all bear witness to a consciousness of guilt. (Cf Handbook of Private Schools, 23d edition)

Tests of just what pupils have learned by studying a subject have been made by hundreds of conscientious investigators. And they all reveal "a spectacular and most disconcerting defeat", James Mursell declares. This straight-minded native of Australia, a Ph.D. of Harvard, is a professor at Teachers College, where they know all about surveys. "Thousands of

investigations have appeared, dealing with almost every conceivable aspect of school work" which "throw a most startling light upon the results of education", he writes. "Most people . . . would . . . think that the chief business of the schools is to give pupils at least a modest working knowledge of the subjects of the curriculum . . . Whatever the goods which our schools are delivering, they are not what one might expect to find in packages labeled science, history, foreign languages, English, and so forth."

The emergency of war has led to great changes in what is being taught and how. With the need of meeting competition from other peoples who have been trained in other ways, we have eliminated much that was dead and useless and are concentrating on what can immediately be used. The demand comes from the military for tools,—foreign languages, mathematics, technology, chemistry, physics.(11)

In this we are necessarily following the practice of the competing enemy nations, who have the advantage of having set aside classics, theology, metaphysics, and philosophy some years before we began to, and turned their educational machinery to preparing their people to win in this great competitive struggle which had come to a final showdown.(12)

Many of these changes that we have inaugurated will survive. Some will prove permanent. It is just such emergencies that bring about the accomplishment of tasks that have been so long delayed. We have no way at present of tapping the new knowledge that has been accumulated during the past few decades. We have no great central fund of information, no centralizing agencies that have either the knowledge to tell what we need, or the courage to tell. Scores of questions arise each day to which I would like to find the answers which I know exist but I can't get at them. Some are in the hands of those who are fearful to impart, some are secret, some suppressed. Scores of books on political topics that are available in England are not available to American readers. More scores of such books have been removed from libraries in recent years and many put in reserve where they are inaccessible.

For two decades H. G. Wells has been hammering for this and he still hopes, in 1942, that "hard upon the revolt in teaching and the sweeping-away of the irritating private localised and nationalised controls of universal interests, may come the establishment of a great framework of ordered and recorded knowledge throughout the world.

"At present such encyclopaedias as our world possesses are in the hands

of unscrupulous salesmen, they are a century and a half antiquated and blinkered in outlook, but the facilities afforded by microphotography, modern methods of multiplication, modern methods of documentation, open up the clear possibility of putting all the knowledge in the world, brought right up to date, within easy reach of every man everywhere on earth, within a couple of days. That is no fantastic dream; it is a plain and calculable enterprise now to throw that net of living consciousness over all our planet." ("You Can't Be Too Careful", Putnam's, 1942)

Too long teachers have taught merely what they had been taught, performed functions for which they had been trained. Too long our youth have been kept traveling round the dusty course which the young were traditionally condemned to circuit, properly called the curriculum. It was the teacher's job to keep them running 'round. Our people were likely to resent any change as mere innovation or fad, to forget that the curriculum had been static only a short time, but for centuries had been changing.

Other peoples have other curricula, some long static. For a thousand years the Koran has constituted almost the sole element of the curriculum for one tenth of the human race. The Chinese for their curriculum could draw on a larger body of classical literature than we, who had to borrow of other peoples. The people of India, with their wealth of ancient sacred writings, have long had material for a curriculum that has been studied and has influenced more millions over a longer time than anything characteristically western that we study. The Roman curriculum, from which ours was derived, was largely based on elements of Greek culture which they acquired by conquest. But that Greek culture reached back through Crete and Asia Minor toward the East. We inheritors of Roman acquisitive culture still seek to acquire an education.

Education was long regarded, James Marshall writes in *Harpers*, June 1941, as a "thing, the acquisition of which puts you in a special class and gives you a membership in a caste". Very modern is "the idea of education as a process in which everyone may train himself and be trained in the development of his capacities and the cultivation of social intercourse on a better-informed level".

Are our students trained in the scientific method of thought, to verify observation, to generalize and build theories and welcome criticism that they may modify them or build better? Where does the student learn to apply scientific methods to the proper study of mankind? Where does

he gain vision of his own past reaching back for hundreds of millions of years? Has he thrilled to the marvelous story that the paleontologist has to tell? Is he hopefully inquisitive as to the way in which he functions, the springs of his behavior? Does he respond to the beauty of the environment in which he lives, the embroidery on this footstool of God? Does he hear the singing of the spheres as he walks the Milky Way and ranges on through endless galaxies?

Is he proud that he is a child of earth, sired by the sun? Does he love this great, round, wonderful, beautiful world, with the wonderful waters about it curled, and the beautiful grass upon its breast? Is he prepared to devote his life to removing any and every obstacle to man's advance? Is he staunch and clear-visioned in regard to all this among the crowds of little men who wonder if progress has ever taken place or if any is possible? Has he an abiding faith in the genius of his species, in the future of organic life? Have the schools failed to give him such faith? (13)

NOTES

(1) "Educational Inertia" is explained by R. D. Carmichael, mathematician and Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Illinois, in the *Educational Record*, Oct., 1938. There is a great deal of writing and speaking "about modifying educational processes and adjusting them to current needs, but this has generally ended in discussion and very little has been done in the way of effective action". We are still carrying on the "processes of education on essentially the same basis as that on which our predecessors dealt with them, notwithstanding the fact that the social process into which the graduates of our institutions will go had undergone a marked change. . . .

"Primitive mind built for permanence. Its highest morality was to maintain customs with the least possible change. . . . The primitive mind assumes that morality is conformity to the status quo. . . .

"The inertia which marks most of our educational processes indicates that in the field of education our level of morality is still too near that of the primitive mind. We have not developed educational processes in accordance with the spirit of the evolutionary advances which are inherent in the social process.

"Except for relatively recent times the whole tendency of human history seems to have been in the direction of developing fixed patterns of thought and of mind. . . . It is easy for the lazy intellect to retreat into the conservatism of inertia. We need a freedom of thinking which will enable us to get away from the patterned characteristics of mind.

"Perhaps nowhere else in the social process is it so difficult to overcome the inertia of past experience as in the process of education. This is due in part to the

fact that educators are practicing their profession in the same atmosphere as that in which they learned it. . . .

"We have allowed a long continuing process of societal change to accumulate its results through some centuries without a corresponding modification of our educational practice. We have here one of the most fundamental inertias in the educational process. We have remained essentially stationary in our emphasis upon intellectual concerns. . . . Sole emphasis on intellectual training marks a cultural lag which does not take account of fundamental social changes. There seems to be a fundamental lag in mind in coming to an appreciation of the problems of man himself. But now that the processes of evolutionary change have been so accelerated in respect to the social process, and even in respect to the activities and powers of the human mind itself, it becomes essential that we shall give attention to these social processes and to the characteristics of human personality.

"In the process of evolutionary change, it is not enough to conserve the values of the past. We must make way for the incoming values of the future. An educational system which is learning nothing will induct youth into a corresponding state of ignorance. . . .

"Vested interests, which are essentially vested fears, must yield in this process of overcoming educational inertia."

(2) The story of "the campaign of the public utilities to advance their interests through American schools and colleges" and the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of the utilities, is told by Bruce Raup, professor of education, Teachers College, in "Education and Organized Interests in America" (Putnam, 1936). He refers to, among other things, the tireless work of Judson King of the National Popular Government League, Washington, D. C., to expose the propaganda of the public utilities.

Howard K. Beale in "Are American Teachers Free?" (Part XII of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, of the American Historical Association, Scribners, 1936), tells of the utilities' attempts to change school texts, their success in getting certain texts banned, their efforts to control texts and to have favorable ones written, etc. (cf index). He also refers to the propaganda of the National Association of Manufacturers seeking to control the content of what was taught.

(3) On the other hand, word study, etymology, was introduced into the public schools in the seventies and eighties. Swinton's little book resulted in greatly enlarging and illuminating the vocabulary of men now over seventy. But no vested interest sufficiently strong was built up about it to prevent its being thrown out as a frill. And it tended to undermine a long and well established interest. It claimed to do what Latin claimed to do, and it actually did it, where the other claimed. Teachers had been trained in Latin in the conventional way. This was a short cut and tended to reduce the study of Latin and Greek. And it also introduced other languages, Turkish and Arabic, and so on, as influential.

(4) Under the title "Progressive Schools of the Past", these radicals and progressives of their time were reviewed in historical perspective, in the 23d edition of the Handbook of Private Schools, 1938-39. In the chapter "What's Taught Is

What's Left" was traced the influence of economic change acting through individuals to bring about changes in the curriculum.

(5) The introduction of English grammar was in part due to that Scotsman Adam Smith, a radical progressive in education, as in economics, who was dissatisfied that a boy with a Public School education could "come into the world completely ignorant of everything which is the common subject of conversation among gentlemen and men of the world". In his "Wealth of Nations", somewhat "infected by Locke's preoccupation with usefulness", Adam Smith deplored the deadening effect of security on the Public Schools, which because endowed did not respond to the needs of the time and continued to teach Greek and Latin instead of useful subjects. But, depending in part on pupils' fees, "The public schools are much less corrupted than the universities".

(6) Hogben tells us in "Retreat From Reason", "Our educational system has ceased to be an instrument to assert the liberties of the country, or indeed to have any intelligible objective. . . . We have inherited from the Reformation an education system which has no relevance to the immediate social tasks of our generation, and our political leaders are products of that system."

(7) In his "Mathematics for the Million" (Norton, 1937), Hogben goes on to say, "The leisure class of the Greek city-states played with geometry as people play with crossword puzzles and chess today. . . . Generations of schoolboys have studied Euclid without being told how a later geometry, which grew out of Euclid's teaching in the busy life of Alexandria, made it possible to measure the size of the world. Those measurements blew up the pagan Pantheon of star gods and blazed the trail for the great navigations. The revelation of how much of the surface of our world was still unexplored was the solid ground for what we call the faith of Columbus.

"Plato's exaltation of mathematics as an august and mysterious ritual had its roots in dark superstitions which troubled, and fanciful puerilities which entranced, people who were living through the childhood of civilization, when even the cleverest people could not clearly distinguish the difference between saying that 13 is a 'prime' number and saying that 13 is an unlucky number. His influence on education has spread a veil of mystery over mathematics and helped to preserve the queer freemasonry of the Pythagorean brotherhoods, whose members were put to death for revealing mathematical secrets now printed in school books. It reflects no discredit on anybody if this veil of mystery makes the subject distasteful."

(8) "The language of size owes its position in Western education to two different social influences. While revolt against the authority of the Church was gathering force, the mercantile needs of the Hansa had already led to the founding of special schools in Germany for the teaching of the new arithmetic which Europe had borrowed from the Arabs. An astonishing proportion of the books printed in the three years after the first press was set up were commercial arithmetics. Luther vindicated the four merchant gospels of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division with astute political sagacity when he announced the outlandish

doctrine that every boy should be taught to calculate", writes Lancelot Hogben in "Mathematics For the Million".

(8a) Vested Interests—the classic instance exists in the story of Demetrius, the silversmith of Ephesus, "which made silver shrines for Diana", and "brought no small gain unto the craftsmen". In the manner of his tribe, ancient or modern, he supplied his followers first with the real reasons for opposition to change, and secondly with plausible camouflage: "Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth. Moreover ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands: so that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth". The resulting riot will be remembered, when the people rushed with one accord into the theatre: "some therefore cried one thing, and some another: for the assembly was confused; and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together". But eventually they "all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians' ". For Diana substitute the public schools, the classical curriculum, the School Certificate, the dual system, or any other 'lost cause' or 'forsaken belief', and the technique and the results are very much the same. (*London Journal of Education*, Oct., 1942)

(9) President Seymour of Yale blandly echoes, "I know of no evidence to indicate that a man will make a better Secretary of the Interior or a better Collector of Customs or a better citizen, as a result of having concentrated upon the study of government than if he had concentrated on the Greek and Latin classics. . . . If our liberal colleges should become anything like schools of contemporary social science, we run the risk of cultural disaster." It's "because of our responsibility for the national civilization", whatever that may be, that Seymour would starve the social sciences in favor of the classics, as would Conant at Harvard.

(10) Locke, who had been educated at Winchester and had lectured on Greek at Oxford, in his "Thoughts on Education" (1693), emphasized that Latin was, above all, to be learned through use, with as little grammar as possible, but with the reading of easy Latin texts, and with no repetition, no composition. That's somewhat the way the Roman Church has used Latin and preserved it, and it has been taught in much the same way by Rouse at the Perse School at Cambridge.

(11) During World War I, "college curricula were over-night revamped to fit youth for war service: German, the language of the foe, was dropped as unpatriotic; new accredited courses appeared in signal service, wireless, typewriting, food conservation, physical education, and military art. Vocational education, already sponsored by federal appropriations on the secondary level, spread with little effective opposition from traditionalists. . . . The war-time emphasis on intellectual utilitarianism confirmed and extended a deep-seated tendency in American intellectual life—a tendency promoted by the frontier experience, by the rapidity of the industrialization process, and by still other factors." (Merle Curti, "The American Scholar in Three Wars", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, June, 1942. Curti

refers to Parke R. Kolbe's "The Colleges in War Time and After", N. Y. C., 1919, and Andrew F. West's "The War and Education", Princeton, 1916)

(12) "In every European country the 'orthodox' curriculum is supported by something far tougher than theory; for the schools are under a central agent which defines the syllabus of studies by administrative order and enforces it by examinations. . . . Our schools are already community enterprises deeply conditioned by their setting. . . . Recently one of our great accrediting agencies threw up its collective hands and declared that there are no universal realistic college standards in this country." (Mursell, *Harpers*, Apr. 1942, p 531)

(13) "Education is dead", wrote Lincoln Steffens in a letter. "Schools and colleges are just about in the state that other institutions are. . . . Teaching is routine and learning is drudgery."

"If we wanted to give", Mursell writes, "the Man from Mars an idea of the best in human culture, we would hardly hand him a set of school texts. In the standard curriculum there is some fine gold, but also an unconscionable quantity of dross."

Oscar Riddle of the Carnegie Institution in Washington is doing valiant work in his addresses and publications to bring to the attention of the world the life-giving, life-saving information that biology and its allied sciences have in store. Riddle edited a report on "The Teaching of Biology in Secondary Schools of the United States: A report of Results from a Questionnaire" by F. L. Fitzpatrick, H. B. Glass, B. C. Gruenberg, D. F. Miller, and E. W. Sinnott, which was sponsored and published by The Committee on the Teaching of Biology of the Union of American Biological Societies, 1942.

In England Lancelot Hogben has shown the absurdities of our educational practice in his "Retreat From Reason", and how science can be of intense interest even to children, and made to serve humanity and its affairs, in his "Science For The Citizen" (Knopf, 1938). John Bernal, professor at the University of London, ably and boldly presents his theme of the vital importance of the "Social Function of Science" (Routledge, London, 1938). But most scientists nurtured in subsidized institutions are timid, voiceless, and the coming generation is being starved, as was the present. It is, however, for no lack of guidance, of voices crying in the wilderness, that our educational work is so futile, the results so sterile, the world so confusing.

PIECEMEAL ADDITIONS

With no clearly defined objectives, we don't know which way to go. Timid lest we overstep the bounds set by our overlords, there is little incentive for us teachers to explore new fields. We dare not inquire into the pragmatic value of our little knowledge of the world, of life, nor attempt to estimate its human value. And so we tamely continue to teach what's taught us, leftovers that have remained in the curriculum. (1a)

"At the present time education has no great directive aim. It grows, but it grows from specific pressure exerted here and there, not because of any large and inspiring social policies. It expands by piece-meal additions, not by the movement of a vital force within", wrote John Dewey in his book, "Some Aspects of Modern Education".

It was not always thus. Periodically men have appeared who have centered their attention on the development of the individual and the advancement of the race and the species. These were great men, though they were teachers,—Comenius, Pestalozzi, Francis Parker.

Loyola realized the importance of early education. But Mussolini, and the Soviets, again brought forcibly to the attention of the world the importance of giving direction to youth. The dictators, seeking to perpetuate their power, have given direction to the education of youth. Here they found their third line of defense, reserves that could be indoctrinated with their ideologies and trained to carry on. (1)

In our own country, with many forces conflicting for the control of how youth shall be prepared, it is not surprising that our curriculum comprises accumulated fragments not yet eliminated. Keeping educators in their stalls, feeding students on fragments, education has been kept uninforming, the educated incapable of sound interpretations. Youth is frustrated, without purpose, without drive, seeking compensations in the trivial or the vicious.

Not only is the information fragmentary and meaningless and unrelated to life, but it is doled out in broken forty to fifty-five minute periods interrupted by bells and shuffling of feet and all the sounds of frustrated active youth so characteristic of the school. And ten percent of those shuffling feet shuffle on to some other publicly maintained institution. (2)

After four years of living among these junk piles and scrap heaps of the curriculum, the student knows less rather than more. That the result of the high school and college course should be so disappointing was ascribed by the Carnegie Study of public high schools and colleges to "the disconnected curriculum pieced together in semester installments to suit the unstudied and constantly shifting average demand; the rigidly administered courses imposing the average selection and quality on good and poor alike; the domination of the average performance of a small group as reflected in comparative class ratings".

Of the wide and growing field of human knowledge, of the wonderful world in which he lives, of the gradually dissolving mysteries of the past, of the joy of taking apart abstractions, of seeing through slogans and symbols, these high school and college students are kept oblivious.

One may well be charitable in considering the limitations of the academic mind. Consider from what it was begotten,—from the theologians of the Church and the medieval Scholastics.

Then, we carry a heavy inheritance from the German metaphysicians working out systems within their own heads without reference to the world outside, from participation in which they were so largely excluded. Strangely enough, the involved cerebrations and circumlocutions of a Hegel have had more influence on our academic world than the Scotch horse-sense of a Hume.

Consider our trinitarian system of logic. We know no other. But to the Hindus the five proposition syllogism seems more significant. There might be seven or even more. The convolutions of the brain permit. So the academics spin, though they toil not, developing systems logical but not psychological, unknowing that their mental activities, as well as their physical, are biological.

A logician may write about semantics and develop a system of theories in regard to language, without consideration of the biological processes which permit him to do so, ignoring the biological creatures which have developed the words and the language with which he plays, ignorant of the structure of the nervous system which is essential to its functioning. In his "Introduction to Semantics" (Harvard University Press, 1942), Rudolf Carnap, after a lucid consideration of the nature of communication, gets lost in a metaphysical wilderness, the creation of his own convolutions. Korzybski's biological treatment of semantics can mean little to him, though in one line he refers to Korzybski's use of the word

'semantics' "for a theory concerning the use of language".

This is the "Retreat from Reason" against which Lancelot Hogben inveighs. Not only metaphysicians, semanticists, but economists, social theorists, all too often isolate themselves from reality, create a myth such as 'economic man' and theorize about him. All this leads to "social paralysis", for which Hogben tells us there are "professional apologists . . . unpleasantly aware that the infusion of a little genuine scientific knowledge would compel them to undertake researches for which they lack both requisite training and social inclination".

As Hogben explains, "Orthodox economists have adroitly entrenched themselves behind a barrage of paradox which when stripped of rhetoric reads like this: (i) Wealth is what you have and the man next door has not; (ii) if he had it, what you have would not be wealth; (iii) hence there can be no wealth without scarcity; (iv) since there cannot be scarcity if there is plenty, there cannot be plenty if there is wealth; (v) if there were no wealth, there would be no economics; (vi) but since there is economics, there cannot be plenty".

In the nineties at Harvard I was in close touch with the economists, or at least the younger, more promising and virile men. It scandalized them to have me make fun of their worship of Ricardo and the classical *laissez faire* monopolistic apologists. Most absurd to them was my bumptious assertion that their subject was in the field of human behavior. Steeped in classic economics, they knew its inviolable laws and principles, which had been deduced from the cerebrations of brilliant thinkers in the economic world. Today, except where these 'economic laws' are still sacredly enshrined, as at Harvard, classical economics is a subject of ridicule.(3)

This artificial breaking up of human knowledge and apportionment of it to university departments is the logical outcome of the artificial classification of events and phenomena.

Linnaeus, the great naturalist, is largely responsible for developing the taxonomic system of dividing all life into species, genera, and families. For a century the chief purpose and object of the student of life was to identify and differentiate species and to classify them. That is the first stage in the development of knowledge of a subject. Most of our university teaching is still in this stage. We identify an observation in regard to human behavior as 'psychologic', 'sociologic', or 'economic'.

The departmental, segmented system continues, because most teachers can teach only what they have been taught. They get their degree in this

or that subject. Their livelihood depends upon their teaching it. Their hope is to be appointed to a chair in that subject and, after holding it, to be pensioned off, whereupon a few of them begin to look upon life as a whole.

While ensconced in a well upholstered chair endowed perhaps by a "Mr. Plummer" for "Christian Morals", it can hardly be expected that a learned scholar should root around among things vulgar for new data. It is much more becoming, and it is easier, too, to preserve one's dignified remoteness by sorting over and reclassifying his already accumulated scraps of information and spinning theories about them, and about why his subject justifies the endowment and should continue to be taught. That was the way of his theological and meta-physical antecedents. You may expect, then, that such will be ardent supporters of the artificial divisions between the subjects that grew out of theology,—psychology, sociology, economics.

But as all of these have to do with but one subject, the "proper study of mankind", which leads to an understanding of how it is that he behaves as he does, individually or in groups,—we may be assured that the dividing fences will eventually come down.

What is of value to us is the understanding of human behavior, individual or group, in what we call the normal state or the abnormal, in health or in disease. With understanding we may gain some increased capacity in control. Eventually the partitions between these fragments of knowledge must be broken down, these isolated observations must be correlated, and there must be increasingly sound interpretation, if knowledge is to serve its greatest purpose.

There may well continue to be antiquarians and junkmen who continue to sort and catalog their items. Even then there will be outsiders discerning enough to find much junk in the antique shops and some antiquities in the junk piles. For familiarity does not necessarily lead to keener appreciation of values.

But such are not the inventors or designers of new machines or shapes, and these are not the teachers of youth. The teacher of youth should come out of the dustbins and gain a point of vantage where with breadth of vision he can see the country round about and advise and apprise youth of what's beyond and what's coming.

It is not for lack of perception and advice of wise men through the ages that the young are still fed from separate troughs the traditional

slop which derives from ecclesiastical and medieval origins. Francis Bacon three hundred and fifty years ago protested, "Let this be a rule: that all divisions of knowledge be accepted and used rather for lines to mark or distinguish, than sections to divide and separate them. . . . For the contrary hereof has made particular sciences to become barren, shallow, and erroneous; not being nourished and maintained and kept right by the common fountain and aliment."

Awareness of the disintegrated situation our 'knowledge' is in because of segmentation and departmentalization, has led to efforts to correct it. A few decades back the talk was all 'correlation'. The algebra teacher was to see that his pupils used good English; the history teacher was to see that his knew some geography.

More recently the emphasis has been thrown upon the individual rather than the subject matter, in an attempt to 'integrate' the personality to compensate for the centrifugal effects of the fragmentary curriculum. Of course the social system is disintegrating to the individual, except as individuals are trained as robots. We lack the ability of primitive man or our pioneer ancestors to meet situations. We have become schizophrenic subjects for the psychiatrist and the mental hygienist.

It would seem to be of less importance what is taught than how and by whom. Of what value to any human today, for example, is the great variation in the diverticulae of the ammonites during the Silurian three hundred million years ago? Well, to anyone who listened to Shaler interpret the processes that those fossils revealed, it has remained of tremendous human value, for it has since led them to see in everything, processes long sustained still going on, some of which proved futile and others fruitful. Another paleontologist even more learned, more erudite, might have presented a greater variety of facts with greater minutiae of detail and left the whole inchoate, dead, on unresponding minds. But Shaler, from a lesser number of selected facts, revealed relationships, processes. He taught one to interpret, to understand.

NOTES

(1a) The late Abbott Lawrence Lowell, (d. Jan. 6, 1943), when president of Harvard, frequently reiterated in addressing the freshmen and others that the only education was 'self-education'. In private conversation he is said to have remarked, "We have some knowledge in the university. The freshmen bring in a little, the seniors don't take any away, so it accumulates."

(1) Had they looked farther back, they would have seen in Japan the same

thing going on hundreds of years ago, as Ashikagas or Tokugawas seized power. They too molded youth to believe in what they stood for, claiming they represented the Mikado, the descendant of the Sun-Goddess.

(2) Dr. Haven Emerson in his "Mind in the Breaking" in 1930 pointed out that "in a population of 120,000,000 we probably have 4,500,000 children under five years of age with some behavior problem which, if not noted and in some measure dealt with, will lead to personal or family dilemma or disturbance".

Psychiatrists, like the Menningers, say it doesn't matter what we teach, it is the result on the pupil that counts, that determines health or delinquency. And they are justified in view of the increasing percentage of the school house product that goes to the 'bughouse' or the 'big house'. (cf *Handbook of Private Schools*, 1937-38 edition, p 189)

"Whether in New England or Southern California, choice hilltop spots are crowned with great institutional brick piles—our asylums. Before the gaze of heaven we parade the human sacrifices of our civilization. The ultimate causes are deep hidden for shame. And like the Aztecs, it's the flower of our youth we sacrifice,—geniuses, men of promise like Clifford Beers, founder of the mental hygiene movement. The 'untutored' mind escapes. Those who go to the asylums and the prisons have passed through the schoolhouses. And yearly an increasing product goes on to the 'bughouse'." (cf "The New Immoralities", pp 53-54)

(3) The continuous flow of scorn and ridicule that has been poured on the heads of the economists little affects the endowed professors who continue to serve those who endow them. "It would be easy to humiliate and mock and ridicule the whole body of writers and teachers in the field of political economy by recounting the grotesque blunders into which they have fallen, since the Great War, in their efforts to project their theories into the world of facts." Freeman Tilden in "A World in Debt" (Funk & Wagnalls, 1936), with scholarship and vision writes revealingly of the quagmires into which the economists have led us.

Two Cambridge professors, Thomas Nixon Carver and David A. Wells, in 1928 in "This Economic World" accounted for the current prosperity,—"because our ideals are precisely not materialistic, that all things are being added unto us because we are seeking first the sound principles of justice and the sound ideals of individual behavior which are the very essence of the Kingdom of God".

Mr. Tilden in quoting this, remarks, "Within a few months from the time Professor Carver wrote these lines, the extent of the gambling in stocks and commodities had reached such a point that the rate for call-money in New York went above 20%. . . . The whole country was a stew, a hideous financial brothel, from which six years later, the stench has not ceased to rise.

"The study of political economy, as pursued, is the most sterile of all academic employments. From the classrooms of schools and colleges emerge a body of completely muddled young men and women, supposed to be in possession of the principles governing the production and distribution of wealth; actually, they are in possession neither of such principles nor of the capacity to take their places in the world of exchanges with anything more than the usual empirical equipment."

STERILE SCHOLARSHIP

Our whole educational system from the university down to the grammar school has long been dominated by the bogey of scholarship. Originally a scholar was one who went to school. Our fathers when they were tardy were often derisively greeted, "A dillar, a dollar, a ten o'clock scholar". That usage is a hangover from the time when schools were where scholars were made, where philosophy or theology were taught. But even in the days of the great scholar Erasmus, there were pseudo-scholars at whom he jibed and jabbed in his "In Praise of Folly".

Scholarship stands for many things to many men. To the college student who needs financial help to get through his college course, a 'scholarship' means money, and that means marks. Now marks mean finding favor with instructors. So the scholarship necessary for a scholarship involves bootlicking. At least it has. The Ph.D. going up for his oral examination knows that in order to prove his scholarship he must bone up on the lecture notes he has taken from the men who are going to ask him questions about what they know.(1)

Whatever scholarship may be, it has done something to education, and particularly to our colleges. "Anyone who has opportunity to meet and study in large numbers the alumni of the American colleges is likely to have attacks of depression. In spite of the vast investment of money and energy in these institutions, it is only too clear that in a great many cases education has failed to 'take', or the infection has been so slight that few traces are to be perceived after five or ten years of the wear and tear of American life."

These are the reflections of William Allan Neilson, president emeritus of Smith. And he should know. As one of the founders of the *American Scholar*, in its tenth anniversary issue (Winter, 1941-42) he, and others, review the failure of this scholarly publication to appeal to college alumni.

Generations of students took his courses but even under such an inspiring teacher the percentage of those with whom Shakespeare failed to 'take' would be high.(2)

With all our courses in high school and university, all our teaching of Shakespeare, the plays are not produced, are not known, in English-speak-

ing countries as they long have been in Germany where in any provincial town one may see several Shakespearean performances a month.(3)

The late Professor Kittredge of Harvard, familiarly known to his students as 'Kitty', was a revered Shakespearean scholar, famed for his caustic remarks and for his detailed philological knowledge of the words Shakespeare used. But did he enjoy Shakespeare? They don't tell you of his having made Shakespeare enthusiasts or inspired new productions. And for his own divertissement he consorted with the witches, not of Macbeth, but of Salem.

Scholarship of course implies knowing more and more about less and less. Veblen, who had studied the scholars in their separate academic pens, wrote, "This highly sterilized, germ-proof system of knowledge, kept in a cool, dry place, commands the affection of modern civilized mankind. . . . This esoteric knowledge of matter-of-fact has come to be accepted as something worthwhile in its own right, a self-legitimizing end of endeavor in itself, apart from any bearing it may have on the glory of God or the good of man. . . . This learning has . . . become an avowed 'end in itself.' "

The monkish medievalist, who mulled over manuscripts and theorized on theological themes, begot the modern scholar. After the monasteries were unroofed by Henry VIII, it was in the great universities of ecclesiastical origin that this type was perpetuated. As Alfred North Whitehead put it in his Lowell Lectures of 1925, "In the modern world the celibacy of the medieval learned class has been replaced by a celibacy of the intellect which is divorced from the concrete contemplation of the complete facts".

Emerson's ideal has not prevailed. In his famous Phi Beta Kappa address of 1837 Emerson boldly clarified, "Free should the scholar be—free and brave. Free even to the definition of freedom, 'without hindrance that does not arise out of his own constitution'. Brave, for fear is a thing which a scholar by his very function puts behind him. Fear always springs from ignorance."

"To Emerson, the scholar was the sage, the philosopher, whose wisdom, derived from nature, books, and actions, might elevate and guide his fellow men", declares Professor Maurice Baum in his Scholarship Day Address, May 19, 1942, on "The Scholar, Scholarship, and the War", at Kent State University which is printed in *Vital Speeches*, July 1, 1942. "In our day, the conception of the scholar has changed radically; his

function has been narrowed while it has been strengthened. He is the careful reporter and analyst; he is the doubter and the finder." (4)

After Emerson's time, leading Americans like Ticknor and Longfellow started the tens of thousands of American young men to the German universities to return with German ideals of scholarship. White at Cornell in the early 1860's, Eliot as president of Harvard from 1869, and Gilman with the opening of Johns Hopkins in 1876, put these German ideals into practice. With this German inspiration developed the idea of the American university.

"Until that time we had been in the British tradition, but since the British had ignored or seriously neglected research, these men turned to Germany for inspiration and direction", President Cowley recently declared. "By 1914 ten thousand Americans had returned home with German Ph.D.'s. . . . So great was the prestige . . . that" J. P. Morgan the Elder "studied mathematics at . . . Göttingen". With the first World War we repudiated this German influence and transferred our allegiance to the English university.

"Researchism" puts "excessive emphasis upon research at the expense of . . . education". "Specialism" makes it difficult "to get a broad education". "Impersonalism", by which our professors are "concerned only with the minds of their students" makes it beneath their dignity to know intimately individual students. "For seventy years now the trend has been steadily to make our colleges and universities more and more impersonal. . . . The result is that every year thousands of youngsters are being thrown on the educational scrap-heap labelled failures and misfits and undesirables." (5)

How ignorant our college graduates remain under this treatment has been shown by tests, amusing in their results. "Mary Baker Eddy was alleged to be a movie actress, Samuel Johnson a baseball pitcher, Browning a real estate man ["Peaches"], and Lorenzo de Medici a gangster".

Many of those who occupy endowed chairs in our great universities have a good deal of hesitancy about teaching. President Cowley believes that professors should teach, but that teaching is much neglected for so-called research, and that the education of the young men consequently suffers. At the University of Chicago's fiftieth anniversary, of the thirty-two honorary degrees not a single one "went to a man who has devoted his life to teaching, to the sensitizing of young men and women to the meaning of our civilization".

At the Harvard Tercentenary, President Conant put the emphasis on research, President Cowley criticizes, and remarks that when in 1938 the Student Council called his attention to how difficult it was "to get a broad education", Conant "wrote . . . that he'd take the problem under advisement. . . . It's still under advisement."

The Yale faculty refused to promote one of its most popular teachers, Robert Dudley French, to a full professorship because he was not "a productive scholar". But after he resigned, President Angell was forced to hire him back as a full professor. President Cowley finds the same neglect of the best teachers at Harvard. Of Professor Charles Copeland he remarks, "'Copey's' associates on the Faculty . . . sneered" that he, too, was "not a 'productive scholar'".

When Copeland returned to the Harvard campus in the early '90's, I well remember his peculiar walk, the relaxed shoulders, his slender figure, the bend at the hips. He had been a reporter on the *Advertiser* which had been edited by Dunbar, then professor of political economy. Members of the faculty looked upon him as an outsider, regarding his activities as rather distracting. His evening readings were regarded as a bid for popularity. Not till after graduates who had been inspired by him called him to repeat his readings to the New York Harvard Club, was he recognized by the authorities as a great teacher. It was a quarter of a century before he was given a professorship, just four years before he retired at the age of sixty-eight.

There were giants in those days at Harvard, but they were regarded with suspicion by the authorities. Shaler, the greatest teacher of them all, was looked upon by his colleagues as something of a charlatan, not merely because he engaged in unacademic activities, geological surveys, road improvements, but because he enticed four hundred men to his course in Geology IV. Charles Eliot Norton criticized the manners and intellectual poverty and esthetic gaucheries of his fellow countrymen, and was denounced as un-American and unpatriotic, particularly at the time of the Spanish War. But he opened the minds and sensibilities of his hearers to a more beautiful America and a life of richer and more complete satisfactions. (6)

"Call a literary scholar dull and he may take it as proof that he has not stooped to the wiles of the journalist and popularizer. Call him a pedant and he may only smile pityingly at your failure to appreciate scholarly precision. But tell him his imagination is faulty and he will stare in

honest bewilderment. His concern, he will reply, is with facts and their interpretation; imagination has nothing to do with it. But it has." Writing under the title "Should Scholars Try to Think?", Delancey Ferguson in the *American Scholar*, Spring, 1942, thus jibes.

"More conscientious, intelligent effort, backed by the facilities of the greatest libraries the world has ever known, is directed today to collecting and arranging facts than ever before in the history of literary research. We have more facts than ever and we are continually adding to the stock. But what we do with them after we get them depends on our imagination. . . .

"The lack of imagination, failure to visualize the past and to relate events to analogous happenings and people within our own experience, can lead the scholar astray on anything from minor details to an entire form of art. . . . Too many scholars . . . are unconsciously following the immoral and immortal advice Mark Twain gave to young Rudyard Kipling one summer day in 1889: 'Get your facts first, and then—you can distort 'em as much as you please.' "

Exposed to the lectures of university scholars for four years, the student shows disillusionment, frustration and stultification. "Is this situation due to the moronic ignorance or the satanic machinations of our trustees, presidents and deans? . . . Is it the fault of the students? Obviously not, for no country produces a greater and more sweetly docile mass of pedagogical cannon-fodder," philosophized William Morton Wheeler in "Dry-rot of Academic Biology" ("Essays in Philosophical Biology", edited by G. H. Parker, Harvard University Press, 1939). Wheeler, perhaps the greatest intellect that Harvard has harbored, had followed Solomon's advice and gained wisdom from the study of societies more ancient and conservative than Cambridge afforded.

The economic man has proved to be a myth. There ain't no such animal. But if you haunt the universities, you will discover, with Professor Logan Wilson of Tulane another myth, "The Academic Man". His sociological study (Oxford University Press, 1942), tells us how and what formed this exhibit. The "Professional Recruit" (Chapter II) is not selected. "Entering university work as a life career is very much like entering matrimony: everybody agrees that it is an important event but so many intangibles are involved that nobody knows exactly how it happens."

"The very best men do not enter upon graduate study at all; the next

best drop out after a year's experiment, the mediocre men at the end of two years; the most unfit survive and become doctors of philosophy, who go forth and reproduce their 'kind' ", he quotes Stuart Sherman.

Wilson is particularly hard on "the 'unbelievably picayunish' features of doctoral dissertations that satirists have ridiculed", which "are not so much a deliberate choice on the part of candidates as of numerous pressures brought to bear upon them. . . . Particularly flagrant in the humanities is the field of English, where the philologists rather than the broad scholars have been in the saddle."

He quotes Professor Eigenmann, "Thirty years ago I went to Harvard University to study the antennae of 'palaeozoic cockroaches'. . . . I divided my time between regular courses and the antennae of palaeozoic cockroaches. At the end of the year I went with my manuscript, quite a bundle of it, dealing with the antennae to the Professor of Cockroaches. I wanted it considered toward the requirements for the doctorate. I was told that Harvard University was not interested in the antennae, that it was interested only in the thorax." (7)

The scholar is the flower of our acquisitive social system. His job is to acquire. His pride is in the antiques and junk that he has accumulated in the curio shop of his mind. This custom of acquiring knowledge or culture or property without regard to what use, if any, you may make of it, is characteristic of an acquisitive society. (8)

Of all the drives or instincts that actuate us, that divine curiosity which derived from our simian ancestors is, for those in a free state, the most powerful. In a sophisticated society, or in academic circles in which scholars live, it must be properly repressed if one is not to appear gauche.

For curiosity "may become the main source of intellectual energy and effort; to its impulse we certainly owe most of the purely disinterested labors of the highest types of intellects", McDougall, who believed in and wrote on instincts, declared.

The acquisitive instinct for the scholar is the most potent. The instinct of workmanship, which may manifest itself in the making of mud pies or the building of a Panama Canal, the instincts of communication, sympathy, cooperation, furnish lesser drives.

The acquisition of knowledge is the great end of scholarship. The collecting of facts within his specialty is the scholar's passion and pastime. Wheeler, who knew this species, remarks, "Even those who look down with contempt on the enthusiastic collectors of bird-lice or coprolites are

themselves usually addicted to collecting so-called data or statistics".

Bernard Shaw, who is obsessed with the idea that "activity is the only road to knowledge", has remarked that "a learned man is an idler who kills time with study". Uncle Robert in H. G. Wells' "Babes in the Darkling Wood" (1940) tells us "a scholar is a man who wears second-hand clothes and lives in a junk shop".

The stock in trade of a scholar is a collection of facts, myths, traditions in his particular field. Perhaps he has sorted them out, bundled them, labelled them. Perhaps he has commented on them and formed some theories. His research has been among the old, and among the things that someone else already knew. Scholarship leads to the conclusion that there is nothing new under the sun for the human race,—so scholars held in medieval Rome, in Thebes, Babylon.

Henry Peacham, writing in 1638 about "The Truth of Our Times", observed that writers "now adaies (like cookes) dresse but the same meat after another manner, which in substance is but one and the same". The *Christian Century*, April 15, 1942, reviewing the facsimile of Peacham's book, published by the Columbia University Press, 1942, remarks that such "truth" did not end with the 17th century.(9)

And Whitehead with the same culinary frame of reference aphorized, "Knowledge keeps no better than fish".(10)

Scholarship is so revered that few dare to challenge its validity. Before the beginning of that great revolution which Henry VIII misled us into calling the Reformation, reverence for authority, veneration for the dead past, kept the scholar from challenging the Pope or Aristotle.

"But the mortallest enemy unto knowledge, and that which hath done the greatest execution upon truth, hath been a peremptory adhesion unto authority; and more especially, the establishing of our belief upon the dictates of antiquity", remarked Sir Thomas Browne in his "Pseudodoxia Epidemica".(11)

Scholars speak of 'investigation' without understanding that the hunting instinct is necessary to follow the vestiges or animal's spoor. But they dare not follow the spoor outside their own compartment, so they don't go back to reality. These scholarly hunters, "when too old or too lazy to hunt their accustomed prey in the open, delight to sit and hunt for the opinions of others and especially for confirmation of their own opinions, in comfortably heated libraries", remarks William Morton Wheeler, student of many social systems over hundreds of millions of years, to whom

the king of the termites wrote,

"In the Midcretaceous . . . the priests, pedagogues, politicians, and journalists, having bored their way up to the highest strata of the society, undertook to influence or control all the activities of its members. . . .

"The pedagogues insisted that every young termite must thoroughly saturate himself with the culture and languages of the Upper Carboniferous cockroaches. Some suspected that the main value of this form of education lay in intensifying and modulating the stridulatory powers. For several thousand years most termites implicitly believed that ability to stridulate, both copiously and sonorously, was an infallible indication of brain-power. . . . The politicians and the journalists . . . even more . . . than the priests and pedagogues . . . secreted such a quantity of buncombe and flapdoodle that they well nigh asphyxiated the whole termitarium."

The scholar was content to quote authority until science came to trouble him. Now in self defense he uses pseudoscientific terms. He speaks of 'original research', a tautological absurdity. 'Critical scholarship' involves sorting and weeding his collection of odds and ends. These 'original documents' were contemporary propaganda in their time, as trustworthy as our newspapers and governmental 'white papers' today. 'Creative scholarship' indicates that new theories or conjectures have been formulated from the old material. A 'productive scholar' is one who gets this kind of tripe into print.(12)

"Application of the scientific method by literary scholars may lead to a result no more significant, though perhaps more deadening, than the results of stamp collecting or any activity of a purely antiquarian interest", such as "the blighted mind which counts the number of times the word 'lad' occurs in Housman's earlier poems (sixty-seven is, we believe, the answer) or establishes the chronology of Bishop Brunton's sermons". This is G. B. Moment, a biologist, thus railing in the *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, Mar. 5, 1937. "There are plenty of second-rate intelligences concerned with what Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas thought about, let us say, causality, and whose whole notion of scholarly investigation would be to learn also what Maimonides thought about it." President Hutchins, no second rater, doubtless knows.(13)

"Classicism that is unrelieved by objective experiment, thought that is unrelated to eye and hand, have become again and again through the years retreats for neurotic scholarship, escapes for him who sees daring in an asterisk and finds immortal security in a footnote", writes James

Marshall with characteristic acumen in *Harpers*, June, 1941.

The scholar prizes what the scientist regards as a mere preliminary study and dismisses as of no importance if it isn't to lead to some line of activity which will result in discovery. Suppose as a graduate student you want to start some investigation in science. You have learned already that it is no use to approach the head of the department and suggest an investigation unless you have read up on what has been printed on that subject. When you have, then you may pluck up courage to approach your professor. He may send you back to search the 'literature' further. Then when you have planned a line of investigation in which there seem to be possibilities, with a view to pushing on the boundary of knowledge or of challenging conclusions that have already been arrived at, you are ready to begin work.

But that is as far as the scholar goes, if he goes that far. He is content to know a good deal about his limited field and he is not supposed to know anything else. He does not have to do anything about it except print what he has learned on what others have written, and with his Ph.D. and his cap and gown occupy a chair if he can get it and dole out at third or fourth hand the second hand knowledge that he has accumulated.

The scholar, if he has read everything that has been written on his subject, regards his knowledge as complete. One famous Shakespearean scholar, 'Kitty' of Harvard, asked why he never took the doctor's degree, answered "Who would examine me?" The scientist knows his knowledge is never complete. If he is not turning up new things or destroying old theories, he loses his rank and his reputation.

The scholar prides himself on his accuracy and he is very severe on those who attempt to interpret or question his authorities. The scientist, who measures in microns or in light years, knows he never can be accurate, that he is always in error, and calculates his percentage error perhaps to one-millionth. The scholar must keep on hand a good stock of antiques and old junk, but the scientist must have all the newest ideas and information in his field. (14)

"As William James once explained to me, 'the natural enemy of any subject is the professor thereof!'" wrote F. C. S. Schiller. "It is clear that if these tendencies are allowed to prevail, every subject must in the course of time become unteachable, and not worth teaching. Thus education systems become the chief enemies of education, and seats of learning the chief obstacles to the growth of knowledge, while in an otherwise

stagnant and decadent society these tendencies sooner or later get the upper hand and utterly corrupt the social memory. The power of the professor is revealed not so much by the things he teaches, as by the things he fails or refuses to teach." ("Tantalus, or the Future of Man")

The scholars who would "become again as Byzantine theologians or tenth-century scribes, content to annotate, compile, transcribe, and generally thrash over the old straw yet once more", the universities that would "dedicate themselves to some static body of dogma", are blasted by Moment.

Perhaps Gibbon's picture of these Byzantine scholars was before him, as it was in the mind of President Conant when at the 1936 Tercentenary of Harvard, the world's greatest center of light and learning, he quoted, "They held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers, without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony: They read, they compiled, but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. . . . A succession of patient disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next servile generation."

"That must not be allowed to happen at Harvard", President Conant added. And at that time he boldly declared, "We must examine the immediate origins of our political, economic, and cultural life. . . . The origin of the constitution, the functioning of the three branches of the federal government, the forces of modern capitalism, must be dissected as fearlessly as the geologist examines the origin of rocks. . . . On this point there can be no compromise; we are either afraid of heresy or we are not."

Still earlier, at Amherst in 1935, President Conant, as quoted in the 1939 Report of the Special Committee of Liberal Professors, declared, "We must have our share of thoughtful rebels on our faculties" and our students must be exposed to "the clash of opinion. Only from continued debate can new vistas be opened. . . . The different camps must be represented by vigorous champions—champions preoccupied not with maintaining the cause of their own particular orthodoxy but with developing new values and new ideas from the heat of battle." And he quoted William James, "The best condition of it would be an open conflict and rivalry of the diverse systems. . . . The world might ring with the struggle, if we devoted ourselves exclusively to belaboring each other." Conant went on, "From such clashes fly the sparks that ignite the enthusiasm in the students which drives them seriously to examine the questions raised".

Two years later Rollo Brown, "who lives next door to Harvard", felt

obliged to write, "The official drift of Harvard . . . is not toward any sympathetic rapid extension of democracy. . . . The institution is too intricately enmeshed in its source of financial supply", as Ralph Waldo Emerson perceived long ago. Cambridge comes "naturally into its state of mistrust and fear. . . . Inescapably such an environment fosters sterility. . . . Investigators, instead of risking clues to what seem to be new social facts and expressions of new kinds of human need, keep to the safer practice of applying learning to compiled statistics. . . . Harvard will engage in vast and pretentious researches, make valuable contributions in such socially neutral fields as astronomy, chemistry, archaeology, and cancer, and occasionally yield minor concessions to the newer democratic spirit. But it is no more to be expected that Harvard will kick free of her restraints and lead off boldly in behalf of any economic democracy that would elevate large numbers of submerged individual men to opportunities of growth than that Duke University will launch a crusade against the use of tobacco."

NOTES

(1) Even down into the grammar school, 'scholarship' is a bogey. If the boy or girl isn't able to get it second hand from the printed page through the eye, or if not glib in recitation or facile in written examinations, if he doesn't put it over on the teachers, his 'scholarship' is low, or bad, and his reports so indicate. The realists who want things at first hand, who are not satisfied to keep their noses in a book and repeat what they have memorized, get little recognition from scholars.

John Erskine of Columbia University, once of the Juillard School of Music and intimate of Helen of Troy, reminds us, "Because a student gets a grade of 95 per cent in a language under the present educational system it doesn't mean that he knows that much, but simply that the teacher's score in catching him in mistakes is 5 per cent".

(2) James Harvey Robinson in "The Humanizing of Knowledge" (1923) said, "Most of what passes for learning is a kind of pitiful affectation. The student says 'I have had' Latin or chemistry or 'I took' science or literature. All this safely in the past or the perfect tense, as if it were an attack of pleurisy or a boil."

(3) Oscar Ameringer, in his autobiography, "If You Don't Weaken" (Holt, 1940), writes "Odd as it may seem, I still prefer my Shakespeare in German. The reason for this, and also, perhaps, for the popularity of 'Unser Shakespeare' in the Germany of yore, is that he was translated by dramatists as great or nearly as great as himself—such as Goethe, Schiller and Wieland. Moreover, shorn of Elizabethan English and expressed in the folksy language of Germany's greatest poet, he is much easier to understand. The Weimar Players . . . were organized by Goethe and rescued the Bard of Avon from virtual oblivion, for by that time he was rarely played even in England."

(4) Referring to Archibald MacLeish's diatribes on America's scholars, Baum said, "The scholar, he asserts, stands condemned on three grounds: for his indifference, on the whole, to the ordeal of European scholarship during recent years, for his unwillingness to defend as a scholar the great Western tradition of culture upon which he was himself nourished, and for a false conception of the nature of scholarship that has reduced it to a useless personal ornament. . . . 'The irresponsibility of the American Scholar', declares MacLeish, 'is the irresponsibility of the scientist upon whose laboratory insulation he has patterned all his work. The scholar has made himself as indifferent to values, as careless of significance, as bored with meanings as the chemist. . . . He has taught himself with the biologist to refrain from judgments of better and worse. His words of praise are the laboratory words—objectivity—detachment—dispassion'. . . .

"MacLeish, as an outside observer, has failed to describe correctly what the actor in the drama of scholarly research alone knows, the great moral courage required to maintain the impartiality, the objectivity, and the detachment necessary for the attainment of a truth unsullied by subjective passions or corrupted by selfish, external forces."

(5) President W. H. Cowley of Hamilton College, before the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, New York City, Dec. 12, 1941, spoke on "The Broad Issues Behind Education and National Defense", reprinted in *Vital Speeches*, Jan. 15, 1942. For the failures he ascribes to our colleges he divides responsibility between our German Ph.D.'s and President Francis Wayland of Brown University, who just a hundred years ago in 1842 in his "Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System" said we "needed universities" that "would train men in advanced studies". At that time the country "supported sixty-eight colleges but not a single university. . . . Yale with 438 students . . . the largest . . . devoted all of its energies to educating . . . very young boys."

(6) Norton violated the mores of Harvard in other ways. Every Christmas he opened his home to the students who remained in Cambridge. Shaler, too hobnobbed with his students on his field excursions. Young men were not merely robots to be lectured to. Few professors at Harvard at that time had the courage or the inclination to take a personal interest in their students. Men like Roland Thaxter and William Morris Davis had such a personal interest, but were shy about showing it, hesitant about contravening the mores. Charles B. Davenport, who manifested a more human and personal relation toward his pupils, found that he didn't fit the institution and left for a more comfortable environment.

On the other hand there were men who didn't give a damn for conventions, like the great geologist Whitney. He had spent most of his life in the field,—the highest mountain in the United States is named for him. His great treasure was the Calaveras skull, in which in spite of opposition he devoutly believed. His passion in his later life was music. He had a great collection of musical scores from which he read at sight with delight. He was wrapped up in himself, but when he had an opportunity to fraternize with young men, he made no bones about it at all. To me, from California, his old stamping ground, he was most cordial. I

STERILE SCHOLARSHIP

remember the first time I went to his home. There he was in his library all alone, the sun streaming through the tall windows irradiating his great shock of soft white hair. Two storeys of books about him, sitting before a reading rack with a symphonic score, he was conducting with both hands, his face emotionally illumined. He didn't notice me as I entered, so abstracted he was. But it was unusual in the '90's for an undergraduate to cross the threshold of a full professor.

(7) Those who at the turn of the century haunted Woods Hole or scientific meetings in Washington will recall Professor Eigenmann's dumpy rotund figure, actuated by a high-powered internal combustion engine, and his genial approach and happy smile, his inimitable stories of his experiences. He had many enthusiasms, but the greatest, perhaps, was for the blind fauna of the caves. His was anything but the appropriate physique for worming its way through narrow crevices in the darkness miles underground in search of blind fish or crayfish. But he explained it on the theory that his rotundity changed its shape as he passed through crevices.

(8) "The inveterate American habit of getting an education, with or without honors, is a natural growth of our acquisitive society. Manifestly and conventionally an education is one of the things to get, like a house of your own, like cars and radios, stocks and bonds", writes Dr. H. S. V. Jones in *Illinois Alumni News*, June, 1938. "If one takes it thus acquisitively, one will probably pass on to a bright acquisitive career, and moving in the best acquisitive circles, one will meet many captains of industry . . . and one will hope above all things to be a substantial citizen with a comfortable balance in the bank, to be cited by an acquisitive society for acquisition with honors, acquisition *cum laude*, and in due course to receive all the recognitions bestowed upon those whom an acquisitive society delights to honor".

(9) Laurence Sterne's "Tristram Shandy", a little over a century later, ridiculing the definitiveness of such scholarship, said, "To do justice to Slawkenbergius, he . . . deserves to be en-niched as a prototype for all writers, of voluminous works at least . . . for he has taken in, Sir, the whole subject—examined every part of it dialectically—then brought it into full day; dilucidating it with all the light which either the collision of his own natural parts could strike—or the profoundest knowledge of the sciences had impowered him to cast upon it—collating, collecting, and compiling—begging, borrowing, and stealing, as he went along, all that had been wrote or wrangled thereupon in the schools and porticos of the learned: so that Slawkenbergius his book may properly be considered, not only as a model—but as a thorough-stitched digest and regular institute of noses, comprehending in it all that is or can be needful to be known about them."

(10) Emerson in his famed address, "The American Scholar", the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard, Aug. 31, 1837, held: "Each age, it is found, must write its own books; or rather, each generation for the next succeeding. The books of an older period will not fit this. . . . The writer was a just and wise spirit: henceforward it is settled, the book is perfect; as love of the hero corrupts into worship of his statue. Instantly, the book becomes nexious: the guide is a tyrant. Meek young men grow up in libraries, believing it their duty to accept the views,

which Cicero, which Locke, which Bacon, have given, forgetful that Cicero, Locke, and Bacon were only young men in libraries, when they wrote these books.

"Books are the best of things, well used; abused, among the worst. What is the right use? What is the one end, which all means go to effect? They are for nothing but to inspire. . . . The book, the college, the school of art, the institution of any kind, stop with some past utterance of genius. Books are for the scholar's idle times. When he can read God directly, the hour is too precious to be wasted in other men's transcripts of their readings."

(11) "Orthodoxy, the acceptance of authoritative theories and opinions, is an attitude of mental and social security, a disposition to swim with the tide and to enjoy the benefits of respectability. . . . It carries an inertia, an indisposition to question and criticize." (John Atkinson Hobson, "Confessions of An Economic Heretic")

(12) To President Butler of Columbia, who has known more scholars for a longer time than any other, Professor Brander Matthews of Columbia, who liked the stage, is reported to have said, "In the case of the first man to use an anecdote there is originality. In the case of the second man there is plagiarism. With the third man, it is lack of originality; and with the fourth man, it is drawing from the common stock of the race." "Yes", broke in President Butler, "and in the fifth case, it is research". (E. W. Knight, "Getting Ahead by Degrees")

(13) The futile scholarship of their colleagues oft arouses great teachers of the humanities to poke fun. Henry S. Canby, former Yale professor and *'Satire'* editor, has exposed the petty triviality of most of the research in belles lettres. Professor Hudson of Princeton has spoofed at 'scientific' research in literature.

Professor John Livingston Lowes' "Road to Xanadu" was "brilliant detective work. . . . But after all, is the book more than an illustration of our poet's breadth of reading and his rather whimsical mental processes? . . . Before you reach the end, are you not afraid that the author himself has fallen into an over-estimate of his discoveries?" Thus the late Tenney Frank in his presidential address before the Johns Hopkins Philological Association deflates Harvard's proudest recent work of literary scholarship. (*Journal of the History of Ideas*, Oct., 1942)

Lowes himself derides those who think that scholarship must be abstruse. "There is a queer notion abroad that in the field of scholarship, 'interesting' and 'superficial' are apt to be synonyms. On the contrary, it is only when one has steeped oneself in one's subject", that his "perceptions strike suddenly into unforeseen relations, and old problems fall into fresh perspective and new quests are born".

(14) Bernard DeVoto, who lives among them, in "Minority Report" (Little, Brown, 1940), tells us that when a scholar writes or speaks there are "no incorrect case forms", however "ponderous, torpid, opaque, rambling, diluted", however "inept" the sentences, however "bogged down in vague and abstract polysyllables" or "frayed out in that maddening indefiniteness which permits the writer to believe that he has said something pretty acute, when he actually said nothing at all".

WORSHIP OF FACTS

President McAfee of Wellesley in her first address to the assembled WAVES at Smith College at the end of August, 1942, advised them to get facts, not merely learn where to find them. But the man or 'Wave' who accumulates a few thousand of the infinite number of facts may make his skull a junkyard.(1)

President Everett Case, recently inaugurated at Colgate, seems to have a better understanding. "Our American experiment in democracy rests squarely upon the belief that, given the facts, the people can be trusted to decide the issues. We would better insist, however, that our leaders give us not isolated facts, but some understanding of the facts in their relationship to each other. Only so shall we have the materials for exercising judgment. Only so will we have a government not merely of public sentiment but of informed public opinion." (*Princeton Alumni Weekly*, Oct. 23, 1942)

By facts we generally mean anything that can be verified by our senses, observed phenomena. These are the elements that make up our knowledge of the world in which we live. They are the materials for cerebration. Without facts, without such observations upon which we can depend, without use of our senses and the resulting facts, we have no use for a brain, we can't cerebration.

The danger about collecting facts is that our mental attic may become such a crowded chaos that arrangement is difficult. So we will fail to discover significance or meaning. The facts we have then will not help us to interpret new ones that we encounter.

"What does the human mind attempt to do in its efforts to understand the universe? The answer is that it tries to embrace as many experiences as possible under the fewest possible rubrics with the minimum number of contradictions. . . .

"A rubric must command respect; and there is only one way in which you can command a man's respect, namely, by appealing to his senses. In effect, science is that mode of classifying the universe which makes of perception the last court of appeal," maintains Dr. J. A. Gengerelli. He attempts to make clear that facts are what can be verified by the senses,

while philosophies for him mean the attempts at explanations. From a comparison of facts one may make deductions, build a theory. But when sufficient observations are lacking to make a tenable theory, then we may indulge in another kind of cerebral activity and produce what be call a philosophy. (2)

If we could lift off the tops of skulls and look inside, as architects do pictorially with houses, what a mess of miscellaneous facts we would discover. I have tried to do that for myself. In one corner is a dusty agglomeration of childish memories of 'The Bible',—"old bald Elijah", "Joshua whose trumpet made the walls come tumbling down", "poor old grass-eating Nebuchadnezzar", "Solomon with his thousand wives", a "dream of Jereboam and that horrid vamp Saloam". Here's a dusty label, 'Nursery Tales', singing blackbirds sit on the edge of the pie, Humpty Dumpty's broken yolk spills at the base of the wall,—under cobwebby rafters are cluttered thousands of faded pictures of remembered places, faces, events; declamations about 'Democracy'; definitions of 'Education'; the rubric 'The American Way' marks a curious agglomeration,—in dark corners are bits on which we blushingly turn our backs.

"Owing to the contemporary mania for what are called facts, we are apt to forget that an age can only learn to know itself if the different methods of approach, the power of formulation, and the analysis of complex phenomena, do not lag behind the collection of data," sadly remarks Karl Mannheim. (3)

To those who are unable to interpret, to understand even a little the confusion about them, it gives some satisfaction to have a few facts to treasure.

The current interest in quiz programs is evidence of the desire to demonstrate that one has a treasured collection of facts. In the most successful of these programs the questions are so devised that even one who did not win success in school can inflate his ego by exhibiting such facts as he has, a satisfaction which the schools denied him.

Quiz programs provide 'ego pleasure' when the 'well educated' fail and when those without a college degree succeed. "'Quizz-bits' provide a symbolic and easy way of inflating the ego; any given bit may act as an inflationary device and no higher rank goes to the man who has read Shakespeare than to the man who has read Edgar A. Guest, if the problem is to quote a line from one or the other. The 'quizz-bits' pattern, by atomizing all knowledge, makes all knowledge appear accessible to every-

one—each man can exult that he got twenty answers right, and lose all sense of qualitative inferiority in temporary quantitative victory.” (4)

A fact is the result of an observation. But our sensory apparatus is faulty, so not everything we see exists nor can we see what exists with accuracy. Moreover the interpretation of observations, however accurately made, will vary with the time and clime and the individual making them.

Environment as well as our social heritage conditions the use of our senses. The bushman tracker will observe facts unseen and interpret them in ways unsuspected to the civilized hunter who employs him. The Eskimo in the darkness of the Arctic night will find evidence that the seal which provides his essential food will return to a particular spot in one or four hours.

It was a fact that there were witches in New England. My ancestors knew of it. The Bible had enjoined them, “Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live”, and Luther believed and preached this devoutly. Today the facts that they observed as evidence of witchcraft, we interpret differently. We don’t see the hand of Satan actuating the old hag. We don’t see the devils possessing the epileptic frothing at the mouth.

Was it a fact that the boy, as he came along in the dusk, saw a snake in the path, as he reported? “The answer must be ‘yes’. Was it a fact that the object seen was really a rope?” Paul Brunton ask these questions. He regards the “fact” as a “linguistic enemy against whose superficial acceptance the philosopher must war lest it deceive and entrap him in illusion”. (5)

The uncritical use of the word “fact” must be regarded with suspicion, Brunton advises. If the boy, instead of saying to himself, “I have seen a snake”, had phrased it, “I have seen something which appears to have the characteristics of a snake”, he would not have been so readily deceived. But it is easy to deceive. We spend most of our mental effort in fooling ourselves one way or another.

Facts today with the increased rapidity and facility of communication are more quickly and widely diffused than would have once been believable. The culture of a people is largely a matter of the facts known to them. So it’s evident that we are changing cultures. The fact observed a couple of thousand years ago by the Indians of Peru that the nodules on the root of *Solanum tuberosum* were edible has within a few hundred years changed the culture of Ireland. And when in the middle of the

18th century, the Irish brought this to New England, it modified the agriculture and eating habits of New England colonists.

New facts may change the behavior, the habits, the way of life,—all that is characteristic of a people.

In building your mental structures, your theories, your codes, your creeds, it is well to select facts that will fit and stand. Let not those who come later discover "the stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner".

Facts are like bricks. If they are not hard burned they won't support a substantial structure. They will not last or stand the weathering of time.

Suppose a child, using his wooden blocks, combined them with marshmallows and chocolate creams and sponge rubbers. The result would be no more absurd than some of the equally unstable mental structures of educated adults. Both soon sag and become distorted. The human mind continues to build crazily, the individual facts selected without regard to size or consistency. The selection determines how long the structure stands. The scaffolding for restoration perpetually about Gothic cathedrals reveals that the stone was not always selected wisely.

Without facts you cannot build even an hypothesis. How long the hypothesis or theory or other mental construction stands will be determined by how the facts are selected or put together. It will stand longer, as R. A. Daly, America's great petrographer and student of earth movements puts it, if one "thinks to scale".

The possibilities of "internally consistent" "sheer logical constructions" are endless. By ignoring facts, cutting off relationships to the world about us, we may create iridescent brain bubbles. Such structures are neither true nor untrue with reference to the world about them. You may follow any set of rules and be consistent. Metaphysicians are logical, consistent, but disregard the world about them in building fantasies without facts, air castles without blocks.(6)

The value to the body politic of these castle builders and cobweb spinners is similar to that of magicians and jugglers who bewilder or bedazzle. They do not help us to interpret the world in which we live, any more than a sojourn in the Mohammedan paradise would prepare us for social life in the city of Boston. Marcus Aurelius may have had them in mind when he remarked, "Every man is worth just so much as the things are worth to which he devotes his earnest efforts".

The worship of facts is as absurd as venerating the stones instead of

the cathedral. "A collection of facts is no more a science than a heap of stones is a house", remarked the French mathematician Poincaré.

"There is a pathetic belief that 'facts speak for themselves'. Nothing could be further from the truth. A conclusion in the imperative cannot be derived from premises in the indicative", asserts Aldous Huxley (*Decision*, Jan., 1942). "The facts about negro slavery were known in the Southern states at least as well as in the Northern states. If these facts had spoken for themselves, Northerners and Southerners should have agreed. . . . Facts are merely stimuli which raise the intellectual and emotional dust in those with whom they come in contact."

"There is far too much emphasis upon the learning of facts, on the mistaken supposition that knowledge, as distinguished from understanding is the chief object of schooling", writes Eliot Blackwelder. "Conditions in our schools and even in our colleges and universities today are far less satisfactory than they should be in view of our acute need of the best education we can provide. Curtis is inclined to ascribe this partly to the fact that many teachers, as well as students, have had little or no training in science and partly to the type of teaching that is all too prevalent, especially in our lower schools. Too much of it is dogmatic, and the student is not trained to think of himself." (*Science*, Apr. 18, 1941)

"Truth does not lie in the mere accumulation of facts, but in an attitude of mind, and a mode of life and action, that must be renewed from generation to generation", remarked Einstein at the Harvard Tercentenary, blowing the dust off some of the attendant scholars.

"It is not given to mortals, apparently, to know the whole truth about anything", Charles A. Beard said in his address "The Scholar in an Age of Conflicts". "The judicial mind, the mind of the scholar, does not operate in a vacuum. It functions in American society. . . . Does anyone really believe that there can be a true history of the United States, for example, that does not deal with the great issues of banking, tariff, budgets, agriculture, industry, and labor that have formed, and still form, so much of the substance of American history and practice?"

"What is the cause of this fascination with facts, this sterile contemplation of the obvious?" asks J. Donald Kingsley in "The Teaching of Politics", *Journal of Higher Education*, April, 1941. Facts are essential to the scientist. But we don't train pupils in the scientific method. We don't give them ability to compare, to interpret, to make judgments. If we do there is protest from the scholars, of superficiality or indoctrination or

something else. They want us to stick to dry facts.

"Every year if not every day we have to wager our salvation upon some prophecy based upon imperfect knowledge", the late Mr. Justice Holmes recognized. And Lord Bryce long ago observed that the American was "like a sailor who knows the spars and ropes of the ship and is expert in working her, but is ignorant of geography and navigation".

NOTES

(1) "Facts Keynote OWI News", headlines a Washington AP dispatch, Sept. 15, 1942. "'Facts, facts, facts!' That's the keynote of American war 'propaganda' now rising to new heights on the home front. The men who are fighting . . . dislike the term 'propaganda'—they want . . . facts, figures, and patriotism."

(2) Gengerelli of the Department of Psychology, U.C.L.A., in "Facts and Philosophers", *Scientific Monthly*, May, 1942, continues "Unless we adopt this point of view we are cast upon the boundless ocean of sheer logical construction, where we can make as many rubrics and systems as we please. These systems, as systems, are neither true nor false; they are internally consistent, some are simpler, some are more complex, but of them, whatever their nature, only one statement may be made: They are! It has been the mistake of many philosophers to suppose that their systems could be shown to be true, whereas they had the great misfortune of belonging to this class which transcends perceptual corroboration."

(3) Mannheim continues in his brilliant, clear sighted "Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction: Studies in Modern Social Structure" (Harcourt, Brace, 1940), "It cannot be denied that owing to the defense mechanisms created by this period of specialized fact finding, our sociologists have avoided the greatest themes. It would be a tremendous step forward if social scientists realized that not only the collection and description of facts but the theoretical formulation of new problems must keep pace with the changing social process. In the social sciences the questions involved do not reveal themselves in bare facts but in a series of conflicts and crises which can only be illuminated by adequate analysis."

(4) This is quoted from "Customs and Mores" by Margaret Mead, *American Journal of Sociology*, May 1942, in the special issue on "Recent Social Changes", edited by William F. Ogburn. Dr. Mead explains quiz programs as the "logical extension of the American emphasis upon empiricism, upon facts and figures, upon knowledge rather than understanding. Increasing emphasis upon degrees, diplomas, and certificates (dramatized . . . by the National Teachers' Examination, which assumes that one standard test of learning can be used to select individuals who can teach); increasing use of scholastic achievement tests rather than the older forms of entrance examinations."

(5) In "The Hidden Teaching Beyond Yoga" (Dutton, 1941), Brunton points to the three other linguistic enemies. "Truth", which means many different things to adherents of the Pragmatic school, holders of the Correspondence theory, pro-

tagonists of the Coherence theory, and others, "God", to which term "the diversity of definitions given . . . not merely by uncouth barbarians but by educated people, is really scandalous", and "Spiritual", experiences of which, "on analytical examination, turn out to be magnificent emotional titillations, or extremely imaginative flights, or beautiful moods of intense peace, or crudely sentimental conversions, or visions of immaterial beings, and so on. . . .

"Our examination of these four terms, Truth, God, Spiritual, Fact, has revealed the contradictory definitions which each one may yield to different users. They are glibly uttered by everybody, by men in the street who have never given a day's thought to them, by many who are even incapable of giving them such thought, and—let it be said!—by every mystic who presumes his ecstatic experiences entitle him to speak the last word concerning them."

(6) The possible number of combinations of neuro-fibrils in the cerebral cortex, has been calculated by neurologists to be something like thirty-three trillion. A metaphysician shut up inside his own skull can have a lot of fun playing the combinations. Some of these inverters arrogantly claim that there is nothing real except what occurs in their own skulls.

For more involved and meaningless experiments, look at the ammonites, fossil mollusks, once the flower of creation, now represented by that degenerate survivor, the chambered nautilus. For millions of years from the Silurian to the Cretaceous, Mother Nature played with the septum which divides the shell into chambers. From a simple plane this was convoluted, pocketed, each diverticulum extended into intricate dendritic proliferations, multiplying the surface of the septum hundreds of times and varying the design of the sutures in thousands of ways.

Don't be surprised then, that old Mother Nature takes a few cosmic moments to play with the infinite combinations possible in the synapses of the metaphysician's cortex. And don't blame the metaphysician any more than you would the ammonite. Both are examples of the useless complicated inversions of nature's playful moments. (*Handbook of Private Schools*, 22d edition, 1938, p 175)

SEEDBEDS FOR PROPAGANDA

Minds filled with unrelated facts and still untrained in habits of correlation and interpretation, are fit for strategems and spoils. And the spoilers are fertile with their strategems. The young thus spoiled by our schools, without tastes, with stuffed but undeveloped minds, with no permanent satisfactions, still hunger for they know not what. Starved and stultified, they absorb deceptive myths and take in nostrums. Little wonder that they are gullible.

They swallow avidly their daily dose of information selected and controlled, slanted and directed through the newspapers, periodicals and publishing houses. For while education and the democratic method have stimulated mental activity, they have not insured against gullibility.

With increased literacy and facilitated communication, great numbers are affected who were formerly quiescent, peasants close to the soil. This brings to modern sociology an element now out of all proportion to what it was in the past. Loyalty goes to the good radio voice, to the clever salesman or politician. People can not develop judgment because they have only isolated unrelated facts to work with.

"When even the brightest mind in our world has been trained up from childhood in a superstition of any kind, it will never be possible for that mind, in its maturity, to examine sincerely, dispassionately, and conscientiously any evidence or circumstance which shall seem to cast a doubt upon the validity of that superstition. I doubt if I could do it myself", confessed Mark Twain. "We can't help it, we can't change it. And whenever we have been furnished a fetish, and have been taught to believe in it, and love it and worship it, and refrain from examining it, there is no evidence, howsoever clear and strong, that can persuade us to withdraw from it our loyalty and our devotion."

In revulsion at the product of our culture Mark Twain said, "I can stand any kind of society. All I care to know is that a man is a human being—that is enough for me; he can't be any worse."

Much of the charm of Mark Twain lies in our surprise at his boldness. Most of us when we do cerebrate are ashamed to exhibit evidence of it lest we be thought queer. It is so unusual. And so through cowardice the

things we utter are tame and drab.

An attitude exhibiting even greater penetration was expressed by John Dewey. "I take little interest in statements about the average low level of intelligence, until there is some evidence that efforts are being made to use it, however low it may be."

Our school and college graduates, especially in a time of excitement or hysteria, see only black and white, good and bad, the evil and the righteous. They are blind to gradations of light and shade, or color.

"To Think or To Die" is their only choice, Quincy Howe tells us in his "Warning Against the Black-and-White 'Reasoning' that Threatens Even Democracies", *Common Sense*, Feb., 1941. "Either we are for Hitler or against him and that's that. . . .

"The official view in Washington is that . . . either the Germans are going to win a complete victory . . . or else the British, with our aid, are going to smash Hitler and then organize the entire world for democracy just as Hitler wants to organize it for Fascism."

This overlooks the great fact, Howe tells us, that "this is a revolutionary war from which all of the belligerent powers will emerge in a very different condition than they were when the fighting began. . . . It won't be Hitler who will destroy the American way of life as we used to live it. It will be the changes that we ourselves impose upon ourselves. And these changes will not necessarily be changes for the worse. On the contrary, we are going to increase our physical production of goods."

This type of mind when sufficiently wrought up can see as white what it once saw as black. Sherwood wrote on war as "Idiot's Delight", but later presented anything as idiocy that did not intensify war hates.

And Tomlinson confesses, "I see no reason to alter a line of what I wrote of war and peace in 'Mars His Idiot'. . . . I still think war an obscene outrage on the intelligence." On his,—it seems to have been just that, as he proceeds to exhibit. "If they (the Germans) have their way, then nothing can be discussed. There will be no right or wrong, neither good nor evil." (*Atlantic*, Oct., 1940)

This "either-or" philosophy, the two-valued orientation that prevents any possibility of even a third choice, is a hangover from the Aristotelian law of excluded middle. The many-valued orientation made possible by relativity physics might be expected to have made such primitive 'reasoning' obsolete. But the product of our schools continues to regard any subject as a question of "either" this "or" that.

And that's that. So the argument ends. The mind snaps closed. There has been a series of supposed facts,—reports on events, crude deductions, hasty and ill-formed generalizations. That's the way the American mind works today. The French mind is more logical, the English mind more deferential to tradition. (1)

The character of a people is a composite of the character of the individuals that make it up. The only way we have of judging character is from behavior. Behavior is predetermined by anatomical and physiological factors, brain, thyroid, adrenal-celiac-sympathetic system, as demonstrated by the late Dr. George W. Crile, though as yet little comprehended. But through the brain, which more or less controls the other functioning organs, behavior may be influenced by mental content, selected facts and fancies fed through loud speakers over the radio. (1a)

We have been fed on isolated facts. Such knowledge as we have is fragmentary. Relationships are not apparent. The world is meaningless. We cannot interpret and we are robots.

A people so trained or educated, their minds filled with uncorrelated information, who worship facts, cannot be expected to challenge, criticize, interpret, and understand. Absorbing uncritically the material dealt them or fed to them through newspapers and periodicals by those who own or control them, they may be easily misled by demagogues, filled with fear, or led into war.

At a time when war was only approaching, before hostilities had begun, the editors of the *American Journal of Sociology*, noting "the absence of any comprehensive systematic analysis of the subject of war", devoted the Jan., 1941, issue to contributions "of the most relevant experts", hoping that it "will be of interest not only to" scientists but to economists, historians, and students of international relations. (2)

The same editors, ten months later, devoted an enlarged November issue to the subject of "Morale", of the made-to-order type of articles (cf chapter "Morale and Education"; also 26th ed., *Handbook of Private Schools*, 1942, p 119). These articles seem to justify Harold D. Lasswell's forecast in the January issue, entitled "The Garrison State", which dealt with the changes in our social economy that result from total war.

"In the garrison state, at least in its introductory phases, problems of morale are destined to weigh heavily on the mind of management. It is easy to throw sand in the gears of the modern assembly line; hence, there must be a deep and general sense of participation in the total enterprise

of the state if collective effort is to be sustained." This may explain to the advocate of civil liberties, the bill of rights, how essential it has been to eliminate communists, objectors, labor agitators. One man of that type might negative the work of millions. In the free state such men were applauded and ennobled. In the garrison state they must be eliminated. Germany and Russia have progressed rapidly in this direction. English and American prejudices prevent our arriving so quickly at the goal.

"Society is honeycombed with cells of separate experience, of individuality, of partial freedom. Concerted action under such conditions depends upon skilfully guiding the minds of men; hence the enormous importance of symbolic manipulation in modern society. . . .

"For the immediate future . . . ruling elites must continue to put their chief reliance upon propaganda as an instrument of morale. . . . Rival political parties will be suppressed. . . . The ruling group will exercise a monopoly of opinion in public, thus abolishing the free communication of fact and interpretation. Legislatures will be done away with." Corporative control or ownership of legislators through legal counsel, public relations men, lobbyists, can be centralized through community of interest, specially in connection with award of contracts and division of war profits, or disposal of privilege, franchise connected with public domain.

"The duty to obey, to serve the state, to work—these are cardinal virtues in the garrison state. . . . From the earliest years youth will be trained to subdue—to disavow, to struggle against—any specific opposition to the ruling code of collective exactions."

The difficulties in preparing the seedbeds for propaganda were presented by Raymond Pearl, who approaches war from the biological point of view, in the last thing he wrote before his untimely death. "The inherent decency and inoffensiveness of men, grounded deeply in their evolutionary history, have always been a source of concern to military commanders. From their point of view such types of behavior as fraternizing with opposed combatants, attitudes of individual kindness and fairness toward them, and the like, do not contribute to the defeat of the enemy, which is the main objective of military operations. Consequently in all wars strenuous efforts are made by officers to prevent such types of behavior on the part of the men. . . .

"After each actual war the surviving and disillusioned combatants . . . and the youths too young at the time of the war to have been combatants . . . exhibit almost invariably and universally the psychological reaction

epitomized in the phrases 'There must never be another war' and 'Never again so far as we are concerned'. . . . The explanation of this recurring volte-face is found in the effects of propaganda. . . ." (3)

Pearl quotes Trigant Burrow on "the psycho-biology underlying the effective operation of propaganda in altering objective behavior as well as in forming and manipulating what men firmly believe to be their 'opinions' or 'reasoned convictions'." (4)

Truth is the first casualty in war, it has been said. That is because truth is the enemy of some who want to bring the younger men to fight. Truth must not be permitted to fester in the minds of these young men who must be trained to kill. So truth must first be killed.

"If we take the muzzles off the dogs of war we must put the muzzles on the people and on the press. In time of war the free play of public opinion with its violent contradictions, its cross currents, its revelation of truth, must cease. . . . Public opinion must be conscribed and put to work on definite lines. . . . The regimentation and goose-stepping of public opinion is one of the inescapable processes of war making. Thinking along independent lines must be stopped. . . . Censorship must prevail", Swope testified before the War Policies Commission in Washington, March, 1931.

These needs put a great burden on our military in transforming raw cannon fodder into combat troops. Lt.-Gen. Lesley J. McNair, who commands all American ground troops, in a radio speech to all members of the U.S. armed forces insisted, "We must hate with every fiber of our being. We must lust for battle; our object in life must be to kill; we must scheme and plan night and day to kill. There need be no pangs of conscience for our enemies have lighted the way to faster, surer, crueler killing." (*The Dartmouth*, Nov. 20, 1942) (Cf "Ideals Without Vision")

NOTES

(1) Ernest Barker in 1927 in "National Character and the Factors in Its Formation" wrote, "National character is the sum of acquired tendencies, built up by leaders in every sphere of activity, with the consent and co-operation, active in some but more or less passive in others, of the general community".

"The Illusion of National Character" (Watts, London, 1940) controverts Barker. Hamilton Fyfe, the author, past seventy, long in the public eye in England as author and publicist, was an Honorary Attache with the British War Mission to the U. S. in 1917, and in charge of British propaganda in Germany and among the German armies, July-November, 1918. Fyfe holds, "The thought and emo-

tions of a People can certainly be altered by education, by the newspaper Press, by having doctrines dinned into their ears. Such alteration may be accomplished in a short time. It is not many years since the people of the United States believed everything American to be, if not perfect, at any rate the best possible. That self-complacent attitude has disappeared."

Characterizing the nations, S. H. Kraines, London lecturer on mental diseases, writes in *Science*, Oct. 22, 1937:

"United States . . . typical manic-depressive psychosis . . . happy, elated, very active, dreaming great dreams, doing many things beyond its capacity and speaking loudly of the success which it is achieving. . . . Following the crash in 1929 came the depressive episode . . . marked ebbing of energy . . . bad dreams, fears.

"England, solid, settled, conservative, somewhat apprehensive. France, an elderly, fearful spinster suffering from an excessive emotionalism and apprehensiveness . . . unstable, brilliant but unreliable . . . excessively dependent on her brother, John Bull.

"Germany, capable, full of energy, logical . . . depression chronic . . . paranoid ideas . . . feels that other peoples are to blame for her own inadequacy. Italy, feeble-minded person who has seen others grow great, who envies them . . . much blowing of the horn, beatings upon the chest.

"Russia, strong young man, just passed through the throes of puberty . . . internal conflict with emotional discord. China, middle-aged, lazy, calm, philosophical . . . becoming irritable."

(1a) As Dr. Crile (d. Jan. 7, 1943) has further pointed out in "Intelligence, Power and Personality" (Whittlesey House, 1941), these organs have to do with controlling body temperature. The heat stroke in the tropics is as inimical to life as freezing in the arctic. A large part of the energy of the Eskimo and the tropical dweller must be utilized in adjusting the organism to adverse temperature conditions. Consequently it is only in the temperate zone that man's full energy can be turned to thinking or activity.

So personality and the character of a people is a function of optimum climatic conditions, as Ellsworth Huntington pointed out. Consequently it is in the temperate zones that the great human cultures have developed. These cultures give evidence of the kind of energy and personality of a people. They are the ideological and material artifacts of the functioning of these three groups of organs,—brain, thyroid, and adrenal-sympathetic system. All our cultures, Dr. Crile would maintain, religions, philosophies, metaphysics, tools, implements, organizations, institutions, are the result of the chemical reactions brought about in the living human organism by substances, hormones and enzymes manufactured therein.

(2) Another symposium "War in the Twentieth Century" (Dryden Press, 1940) by thirteen specialists, published a year earlier, shows a greater remoteness to war. Clifford Kirkpatrick, in his chapter on "The Rise of Fascism", begins by objecting to the personal devil concept. "A sharp mental picture, distilled from a dozen cartoons of a scowling Hitler reaching with lustful hands for world domination, saves much intellectual effort when we are harassed by the problems

of a troubled world." Speaking of Italian Fascism, he remarks that "Force alone without its partner fraud could never maintain the Fascist state", and explains this by adding "a myth that is believed acquires social reality".

But Walton E. Bean, reviewing this in the *Sewanee Review*, January-March, 1941, comments, "Professor Kirkpatrick gives tacitly the impression that such myths exist only in countries where they are deliberately promulgated by the totalitarian government, rather than in all countries including the United States. It should be pointed out that in recognizing the function of the social myth for what it is everywhere, the totalitarian philosophies may simply be a little more honest than the democratic ones."

(3) In "Some Biological Considerations About War" in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Jan. 1941, Pearl wrote, "After examining realistically the historical facts as to the immediate causation of war and the 'organs of society in which the war-making power is lodged', as well as the considerations controlling the 'bellicose determinations' of those organs, Alvin Johnson ("War", *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 1935) reaches the following conclusion: 'After war is on, the union of the great majority in support of the war is effected, mainly by the inherent force of the situation but in part by propaganda. It is by this ex post facto consent, given unavoidably, that wars inaugurated by minority interests or in response to traditional policies present a pseudo-popular character.' . . .

"The 'inherent force of the situation' derives its 'force' almost wholly as the result of propaganda, so far as concerns its effect upon the opinions and behavior of individuals. For the individual—the common man—is not in a position really to know anything about 'situations' of the sort under discussion, except from 'information' reaching him through so-called 'organs of public opinion' or through governmental pronouncements, specifically designed and intended to instill into the public mind a prefabricated set of ideas, attitudes, and emotions. The 'information' so received is always and inevitably colored by propaganda. . . . Military men have come more and more to regard propaganda per se as one of the most effective direct agencies in bringing about and conducting war.

"Anyone doubting this needs only to read in the periods just preceding and during an actual war the accounts of the same identical objective events in the leading newspapers of different countries, in order to be convinced of the truth of the statement; always assuming, of course, that the reader is in a state of mind capable of being convinced by evidence."

(4) In "The Biology of Human Conflict" (Macmillan, 1937), Burrow writes, "These 'likes and dislikes' are the mere symptomatic, partitive reflections of similar and dissimilar index-responses. . . . However distasteful to contemplate, the fact is that, due to his inadvertent affect-linkages, the 'symbols' which social man 'thinks' he employs quite voluntarily are . . . really employing man as a quite involuntary instrument subject at all times to their arbitrary commands. In this outlook I think it may be safely predicted that primary, internal, proprioceptive man will prove to be a very different animal from the animal which, in his symbolic, projective, reflex conditioning, he now 'thinks' he is." (Cf *Handbook of Private Schools*, 1937-38 ed., p 119)

EDUCATION FOR FRUSTRATION

As children we were educated for the edification and satisfaction of our elders. Consequently many of us find ourselves unfitted for the life we have to lead. We find when we go out into the world that we were trained in school for a sort of life that doesn't exist. Chesterton expressed this in his classic remark, "We are all educated, but we are educated wrong".

The educated pig is not educated for a pig's life but for the vaudevilian amusement of yokels. Imagine a pig educated for vaudeville, turned into a pen with the uneducated. He would find himself unadjusted and have a bad time. At Cornell they deliberately frustrate pigs and other animals in order to observe how they behave. In our schools the process is less scientific.

"All of the educational steps are strewn with the frustrated, including the topmost. In the course of the twelve or sixteen years of schooling of the individual, we have probably not succeeded in improving his mind but only in testing his survival ability under educational selection," wrote the irrepressible Hooton.(1)

The technique of frustrating, scientifically demonstrated by Pavlov, was simply explained some years ago by Dorothy Canfield Fisher,—"The process seems to be a simple one: the animal is trained to react in certain ways to certain stimuli, and then is placed in a situation in which these reactions are impossible".

In "Education for Frustration" Charles C. Fries of the University of Michigan, *School and Society*, Nov. 30, 1940, tells us that to train more youths in special skills and then have them find no use for them would merely increase the "vocational frustration" of our youth.(2)

Of the over 4,000,000 young men and women between 16 and 24 found by the American Youth Commission as unemployed, only about 750,000 were cared for through emergency work provided by the N.Y.A. and C.C.C. (Irwin Ross, *Harpers*, Jan., 1941)

"It is calculated that more than 80 per cent of the pupils in secondary schools and a large number of college students are being directed by their studies into so-called 'white-collar jobs', which now offer no prospects of

employment." ('Education', Charles H. Judd, *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1942)

"Youth—Millions Too Many?" asked Dr. Bruce L. Melvin (Association Press, 1940). "There are some twenty-one and a half million young people in this country between the ages of 16 and 24 years. . . . Moreover, their number is going to increase until about 1944. Each year since the beginning of the depression more than 2,000,000 young people have reached the age when they have asked for the place they have been taught to believe awaited them in the world of affairs."

Roy Helton in "Born in 1921", *Harpers*, Aug. 1940, wrote, "We are still far more willing to spend four or five billion dollars to prepare against almost impossible invasions than to spend a tenth or a hundredth as much to prepare against the constant and unrelenting attack of enemies to civilization and even to democracy in our own bodies or our own towns. When we attain a real awareness of ourselves and of life and of civilization, that will conceivably be different, and it may come soon."

As late as May 31, 1941, in the *Progressive*, Stuart Chase said, "We cannot sell hope for young people, for we have 4,000,000 youngsters between 16 and 24 who are not in school and who have no work. This great army has been shunted right out of the American community"—and in uniform sent to the seven seas and the four corners of the earth to win freedom from fear and want for other peoples,—as well as themselves.

Short of war we had nothing to offer them, neither employment or security. Dorothy Thompson would have offered them "imponderables".

Every child in growing up, whether in New England or New Guinea, must do violence to his own integrity in adjusting himself to the ways of the people among whom he lives, in becoming conditioned to the culture.

It is a good deal like the process in magnetizing a steel bar. The field of magnetic forces, the tension of these forces, tends to turn the molecules so that their poles are oriented in the same direction. In soft iron, as with some children, the results are quickly apparent, but the effect is not lasting once removed from the field of forces. With steel, as with some human temperaments, the process requires more time or stronger force, but the result is more lasting. With some alloys, as with some growing individuals, the forces have relatively slight effect. Cultural forces do not produce similar effects on all individuals. The conflict between the child and his trainer is not uniform.(3)

The anthropologist refers to the changes that go on in the growing

child, as he is influenced by the ways and words of the people about him, as acculturation. Of all this we are only beginning to be aware.

Of the stresses and strains that result during this process of acculturation, Lawrence K. Frank in "Cultural Coercion and Individual Distortion", *Psychiatry*, Feb., 1939, explains that the ideas and conceptions characteristic of a culture "prescribe what the individual may be aware of, how he will interpret it and respond to it, and whom he will believe".

It is the incompletely acculturized individual, the defiant, who has the capacity sometimes to become aware of phenomena not recognized, not a part of the culture. Today the normal Western European child sees his parents and friends stand in awe or admiration of a glorious sunset. Their behaviour becomes his. Admiration of the sunset is a part of the culture. Before Turner's time it was not. Turner saw what his fellows could not, put it on canvas, was derided, retreated into his shell, hid his canvases in his attic, but left them to the nation. But he had made Ruskin aware, who wrote, lectured, and preached, opening the eyes of others, till now we all see. Now the awareness for which he was ridiculed has become a part of our culture, shared by what we call 'cultured' people.

In "Personality and the Cultural Pattern" (Commonwealth Fund, 1937), the psychiatrist James Plant tells us of the unknown land between the two scientific frontiers where the area of the culture impinges upon the nature of the individual. Until quite recently our studies have been confined to investigating either the nature of the individual (psychology and human biology) or the nature of the culture (sociology and anthropology), leaving unexplored the field of impact. "It is for this reason", Plant tells us, "that the sociologist's description of environment is as empty as is the psychiatrist's description of the personality".

In "The Socializing Process" in *Progressive Education*, we read, "We actually know relatively little about what we are doing as teachers and parents as we guide our growing children toward adulthood. . . . There is conflict in the goals we set up. Cooperativeness, the 'golden rule', unselfishness are taught; individual competitiveness and personal ambition are rewarded. We have all seen examples of effort to teach submissiveness, docility and graciousness and have noted that rebelliousness, hostility and aggression are learned."

Frustration results when an individual is unable to satisfy his desires. "If he mis-evaluates physical or cultural realities", if his "behavior goals" are unrelated "to the culture in which he lives", if "external realities . . .

re such that the individual is unable to develop effective behavior patterns to cope with them", if his environment is unfavorable to growth, he will be frustrated.(4)

"Our child-training methods mold the young person into a form dictated by social standards. This inevitably involves frustration of his basic desires, and the normal outcome of such a situation in the infant seems to be the release of violence. Thus we frequently use the formula, 'frustration leads to aggression'. Actually, older children and adults may not show any overt violence at all when desires are frustrated. They have been trained to tolerate frustrations, to inhibit aggression, or to sublimate aggressive impulses in various ways." ("The Theory of the Aggressive Urges and War-Time Behavior", by J. F. Brown, *Journal of Social Psychology*, SPSSI Bulletin, 1942, 15, p 362)

Philip Wylie in his "Generation of Vipers" (Farrar & Rinehart, 1942) lashes out with the zeal of an old-time fundamentalist preacher. "Frustration produces fear of one sort or another: every frustration is a threat, real or implied, to the individual. A threat is a danger. The age-old reaction of instinct to danger is fear. Fear must be turned into action. Action born of fear demands one of two opposite courses, always: either standing and fighting or running away. Now, a man or a woman can run away from this resultant of a frustration, whether it is material or psychic, and often, in the running, use up the physical and mental energy stimulated by the circumstance. But if the act of running away seems cowardly, even to the runner alone, there will be subjective consequences as well as physiological ones."

"War Begins in the Nursery" is the startling title under which Anna W. M. Wolf writes in *Child Study*, Winter, 1942-1943. "There is no logical reason why nations like individuals, should not learn to settle their differences in impartial courts of law. The obstacles to such a dream are psychological. . . . If pure logic, sanity, or even 'self-interest' were the forces that made men tick, war would have stopped long ago. . . . We must apply ourselves now as never before to the scientific study and control of those mental forces that make for hatreds. They begin in the nursery." Dorothy Baruch's "You, Your Children and War" (Appleton, Century, 1942) discusses wartime fears, children's war play, intolerance and its sources in buried hostility. Less frustrating handling of babies, more freedom for children to express aggressive feelings towards adults might produce less frustration.

The harm that mothers do, the ruin that schools accomplish, the effect of a disorderd, chaotic and dying social system, is exhibited by H. G. Wells in the 'hero' of "You Can't Be Too Careful". The theme song is "What are ideers?", "Be suspicious of ideers", constantly sounded by the father and the offspring whose career is followed from birth to death, turning every side of him to us, his ignorance of sex, his sex life, the disasters it brings him, the tabus which prevent him from living, his belief in external verities,—so that the reader "may grasp the fact that the fate of every child and the fate of the world are inseparable, so that no child on earth now has much of an outlook unless there is a world revolution." (Cf "Educational Leadership" and "We Teach What's Left")

A wise and experienced psychiatrist, Dr. Karl Menninger, explains, "We know that most children are reared by women. The child's early frustrations . . . as well as his earliest gratifications, come to him most often from a woman. Not only this, but his subsequent training throughout the formative years, and sometimes even in adolescence, is in the hands of women. It is, therefore, a presumptive conclusion that the patterns of emotional behavior, both of loving and of hating, are to a far larger extent than any of us realize determined not by 'the parents' but by the mother. . . .

"Let me be more specific about some of the crimes unwittingly committed against the child by the mother. I mean such things as inconsistency, threatening, objecting to his activities because they are disturbing and because they arouse her neurotic fears, refusing his reasonable requests, ignoring his efforts to be pleasing or interesting, breaking promises, quarreling with him over trivial matters, impressing her own anxieties or worries upon him, discussing him in the presence of other people, embarrassing him, neglecting him, bribing him, lying to him, shielding him from the consequences of his own acts, comparing him unfavorably with others. The greatest crime of all, perhaps, is the inculcation of a dishonest, hypocritical philosophy of life."

These reflections lead him to recommend an "education beginning at the cradle with the encouragement in the child of more freedom for aggressiveness, destructiveness, and cruelty, and with the giving of more affection, interest, and attention by his elders. Childhood is the time for the children to be bad and the parents (and teachers) to be good, instead of vice versa." (5)

"The repression of hostile impulses thus becomes the most significant

fact in the domestication of the human animal and is, in conjunction with anxiety, the core of every neurosis—a neurosis being nothing but a failure of the process of domestication. Because aggressive impulses represent an internal danger, they rouse anxiety. Thus anxiety becomes the dynamic source of their repression”, writes Franz Alexander in “Our Age of Unreason” (Lippincott, 1942), in which he traces the changes from the age of reason to this our present state of unreason. “Since fighting is connected with danger, anxiety and hostility are closely interrelated. Anxiety is the organism’s reaction to danger and, since hostile aggression provokes retaliation, hostility is connected with anxiety. The interrelationship appears reciprocal, for anxiety mobilizes hostile impulses, and hostility causes anxiety and the fear of retaliation.”

A study of “Personal Aggressiveness and War” has been made by E. F. M. Durbin and John Bowlby (Columbia University Press, 1939). The causes,—possession, intrusion, frustration,—apply also to the behavior of nations. Turning to “Education and War”, they suggest, “It would seem . . . that adult aggressiveness could be diminished either by a reduction in the repression of simple aggression or by a reduction in the extent to which impulse is frustrated”.

“Aggression is always a consequence of frustration” is the outstanding conclusion of “Frustration and Aggression” (Yale University Press, 1939). This study, carried on by a group at the Yale Institute of Human Relations, was based on Freud’s study of the dynamics of aggression as arising from frustration. Whether it is the ‘naughty’ child or the ‘aggressor’ nation, “aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise . . . the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression”.

One of the above group, Leonard Doob, in his “Plans of Men” (Yale University Press, 1940), following the same theme, writes, “Before frustration can lead to war, people must be made to believe that they can express their aggression in this way and only in this way. . . . During a war people are given social permission to express their aggressive impulses against an out-group and, especially in a so-called civilized country where the frustrations are so numerous, they have a strong initial tendency to coöperate. . . .

“Since security is usually preferred to reckless release of aggression or to temporary bouquets of glory, it is necessary to resolve the internal conflict which most people feel by means of propaganda. . . . People will not

fight, consequently, until it is made clear to them by propaganda that fighting is essential to present and future gratification."

As it is the function of society to condition the young to carry on the purposes that seem to those in control important to their culture, so as war approaches, the conditioning of youth for war is necessarily intensified. And they must be made to feel a consciousness of guilt, a sense of duty. "So low is grandeur to the dust, so nigh is God to man, when duty whispers low, 'Thou must', the youth replies, 'I can'." (6)

NOTES

(1) "We . . . feed all of the young into the same educational mill. . . . But this sifting process does not necessarily leave us at the end with the most constructive and brilliant minds, but only with those which happen to be capable of assimilating the largest quantities of the sort of knowledge we pour into them. . . . We pretend that our children discontinue their education at varying periods because they reach the point of comfortable satiety at different ages. It seems probable, however, that the majority stop because they are defeated and unhappy and are not only incapable of further profit, but have derived very little from the whole process, and perhaps even a good deal of loss." (Earnest Hooton, "Apes, Men and Morons", Putnam, 1937)

(2) In 1939, February 27, Pres. Edmund E. Day of Cornell in an address before the N.E.A. at Cleveland said, "Evidences accumulate that the adult population will increasingly restrict the opportunities for youthful employment in industry. The changing age composition of the American population is almost certain to accentuate all this. The number of young people between 16 and 20 years of age will reach its maximum of about 12½ million in the early 1940's", and within the next 12 years probably drop about 2,000,000.

The number of unemployed youth will continue to increase. According to the 1930 census, of a total of 123,000,000 people, 48,300,000 were under 19 years of age, 6,600,000 over 65. "The young people outnumbered the old more than seven to one." By 1960 it was estimated that of a total population of 140,000,000 people, 37,000,000 will be under 19 and 15,000,000 over 65. The young will outnumber the old by only 2½ to 1. "In other words, over the next twenty years, the number of children and young people is expected to decline about 11,300,000 and the number of old people to increase about 8,400,000."

(3) In "Culture, Society, Impulse, and Socialization", *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1939, John Dollard tells us, "Growing up may therefore be seen as involving a series of frustrating as well as satisfying experiences; the least that can be said is that conflict in the individual life is inevitable and that socialization is always a frustrating experience. . . ."

But, as he makes clear, this "growing up is not a smooth automatic process of assimilating the folkways and mores; on the contrary, society has to deal with a

rebellious animal full of animal lust and anger. The domestication of this animal is without exception a process attended by conflict and strain. The conflict incidental to social growth is most visible in the case of defiant persons."

(4) *Progressive Education*, May, 1941, continues: "Successful behavior, valid attitudes and wholesome value concepts are contingent upon the kinds of experiences an individual has". We are "born with only a few patterns of behavior". We become what we are by what we go through. Behavior patterns that "are effective in maintaining . . . organic equilibrium" and in permitting us to function in a manner appropriate to our "physiological dynamics" are necessary in maintaining our sense of self-value.

(5) From "Love Against Hate" (Harcourt, Brace, 1942) by Dr. Karl Menninger, of the Menninger Clinic at Topeka, author of "The Human Mind" and "Man Against Himself", written in collaboration with his wife, Jeanetta Lyle.

The main thesis is that most women, frustrated, unsatisfied, are largely responsible for the frustration of their children. And frustrated sons in turn frustrate the next generation of mothers. "For this reason I feel that a careful study of the particular effects of civilization upon women and the way in which it deprives them of instinctual gratifications is important in understanding why we grow up so much more prone to hate than to love." So he devotes his next two chapters to "The Frustrations of Women" and "The Depreciation of Femininity".

"Swamping a child with 'advantages' is often a substitute for giving him time, interest, companionship, and love. Frequently the material gifts to him are given because the parent feels guilty of an unconscious hostility, and hence, as is always the case, they actually accomplish in the long run the hostile purpose which was their original incentive. The same is true of the mother who 'lives only for her child'. . . .

"If the early conflict between mother and child is not too severe and the child is not too bitterly thwarted, we may expect him to reorient himself. . . . But the opportunity to do so is considerably lessened by the fact that the child's care and education are entrusted almost exclusively to women, who quite often reinforce and strengthen his idea that women exist to frustrate him."

(6) "Beware of Duty. Duty is a sadistic wench who has led many a good man astray. How the rod was laid on the backs of children by generations of pedagogs impelled by duty! Duty has sent forth missionaries to corrupt with our civilization tropic paradises. Those who go forth armed with righteousness to slay are impelled by duty. When 'Duty whispers' beware lest the blood lust be aroused. And if she promises you glory and nearness to God, twice beware. So near is grandeur to the dust, so nigh is God to man, when Duty whispers low 'Thou Must', youth must reply 'I won't'." (Cf "The New Immoralities," by Porter Sargent, 1935)

YOUTH THE SCAPEGOAT

Drilled in our schools on things meaningless to them, conditioned to a world that is past or passing, without lasting satisfactions or absorbing interests, and lacking the forward look, youth has been frustrated. In resentment and confusion they respond to the taunts of duty and accept the excitement of war as their only salvation.

To bring youth to the necessary aggressive attitude, they must be led to feel that the burden is on them. They must know that if they fail to respond to the excitements of war, it will bring the whip of scorn. It's an old attitude, as ancient as Babylon, this feeling that the young people lack the "vices or virtues of their forebears", commented Sir Arnold Wilson in "More Thoughts and Talks".

"Denunciation of the young is a necessary part of the hygiene of older people, and greatly assists the circulation of their blood", confesses Logan Pearsall Smith in his "Trivia".

"Youth has been charged by its elders with having no morals and less commonsense." This complaint has been sounded by "college professors, irked, perhaps, by their classroom experiences of not having their solemnities taken too seriously", comments the *Churchman*, June 1, 1941, in an editorial on "Those Bad College Boys". (1)

President Baxter of Williams in his annual report so far sacrificed something of his dignity as to deny as untrue the Chicago Adler's charge that "American undergraduates lacked all sense of moral values".

The canny Archibald MacLeish had held forth on the moral unpreparedness of youth and "The Irresponsibles", like the Aldingtons and Hemingways, who were responsible.

Mortimer Adler in his lament on "This Pre-War Generation", *Harpers*, Oct., 1940, chidingly responds, "MacLeish diagnosed the disease correctly but he failed to trace its causes to their roots". Adler would go back forty years earlier to find the cause in the growing comprehension of the scientific method. This questioning attitude for him is heresy. And he puts the blame not only on the colleges but on the schools, especially those which are progressive or "Deweyized". (2)

With an aplomb equalled only by Winchell's, Adler compliments

President Conant of Harvard for berating undergraduates for lack of moral responsibility, while condescendingly explaining that Conant, "being a scientist, is not likely to see the need for—an independent metaphysics, without which ethics and politics have no rational foundation".

Addressing Oxford youth who were about to die, Lord Halifax (Feb. 1940), acting in his 'dual personality as Foreign Secretary and Chancellor of Oxford', and perhaps with consciousness of guilt apologizing for his generation, said, "I suspect that you see us as people who, though no doubt well-meaning, have made havoc of the world in which you now have to live".

John Middleton Murry scathingly replied, "The Oxford address of Lord Halifax has been accepted by those in authority in the Christian Church as the worthiest and most inspiring presentment of the justice of the British cause. In Lord Halifax's view, the process of European history since 1914 has been one over which man had no conscious control. . . .

"In vague and general terms he admitted that his generation had been guilty of mistakes and pride and selfishness, very much as in the General Confession we acknowledge ourselves to be miserable sinners. The absence of specification, in either case, takes the edge from the confession of sin. . . . In his carefully presented picture German youth is made to appear as a creation *ex nihilo*: a monstrous phenomenon without antecedents or origin, hardly less than the embodiment in a national age-group of the mystery of iniquity itself. . . .

"This abstraction of German youth from the process of history is a travesty of the facts. The emergence of a generation of Germans imbued with the conviction that *Might is Right* and possessed by the passion for revenge was prophesied to be the inevitable consequence of the imposition of the Treaty of Versailles by a Conservative journalist so little inclined to excessive sympathy with the Germans as Mr. J. L. Garvin, at the time of the Treaty itself. . . .

"If the phrase Christian statesman has any meaning at all, it was the duty of Lord Halifax, above all other statesmen, not to represent the passion, the devotion, and the despair of German youth as an eruption of uncaused malignancy in the spiritual history of Europe. . . . He virtually exonerated himself and his generation, and placed the responsibility for the darkness of Europe on the shoulders of German youth." (3)

Fortunately new revelations have come to the world in the last decades. For light in our darkness we are indebted to the heathen, to whom we

used to send missionaries. Youth problems among the so-called primitive peoples, as we term the non-literate, have been rather better solved, or perhaps not even raised, than in the civilization of which Lord Halifax is the "worthiest and most inspiring presentment".

From the study by anthropologists of these people uncontaminated by our civilization, and from the sociologists who have adopted the same methods in studying our own people, has come illumination. Two women conspicuously lead the procession of torchbearers, both pupils of Boaz.

Ruth Benedict in the *Atlantic*, June, 1942, contrasts "Primitive Freedom" with our 'civilized' conception of freedom, "the feeling we have . . . that it is feeble-minded to strive except for one's own private profit", which makes peace "a lonely thing and a hazardous business. Over and over men have proved that they prefer the hazards of war with all its suffering. It has its compensations. The moral is not that war is therefore an inevitable human need, but that our social order starves men in peace time for gratifications they get only in time of war." What our culture has done to our children is the subject of Dr. Benedict in "Our Last Minority: Youth", *New Republic*, Feb. 24, 1941. She tells us however the elders criticize youth it is they who made youth as it is. "We taught them our own standard of success: it lay in the material world and money was the measure of it. We taught them our own standard of property: its possession was an ego value and it was the trump card in the absorbing game of human rivalry. We taught them our own sense of sin in falling short of standards. We taught them that it was humiliating to take a hand-out but glorious to win in gambling. . . .

"But times have changed. . . . Youth has felt humiliated by unemployment, and its way of lessening this humiliation is by youth organizations which devote themselves principally to the grinding of teeth. . . . Youth are like their elders, too, in the way in which they react to experiences they do not like. They grind their teeth, but they learned the gesture from us, their elders. . . . The inculcated virtues must be of a sort made use of in the social order. Otherwise the rarest virtues unfit their owner for his adult experience and exact high toll in terms of lowered social morale . . . one of the common tragedies that can befall a tribe or nation." (4)

"Democracy's Scapegoat: Youth" is discussed in *Harper's*, Jan., 1941, by Margaret Mead, who has shown us how different are the problems youth faces in the cultures of the United States, Samoa, and Bali. Commenting on the diatribes of Adler and MacLeish, she regrets that "youth

is becoming the national scapegoat for our moralizers. . . . We, prophets of disaster, are already searching for those who will have betrayed us".

With broad comparative anthropological knowledge, Dr. Mead explains that "a moral sense is a primary emotional conviction that it matters whether a line of conduct is right or wrong. . . . The majority of the peoples of the earth do not have what we call a moral sense at all. . . . Bringing children up thus to have a moral sense is a special invention, characteristic of European-American culture and very seldom found in other parts of the world. . . . It is the inevitable concomitant of the American family and the American way of life. Because we have a moral sense we are becoming profoundly disturbed and miserable, as the present emergency forces us to take stock of ourselves. . . .

"The real danger to our Democracy lies . . . in all of us—and because we have a moral sense. . . . These younger people of today are the only ones . . . who have first been taught it was moral to work hard for success, and then have been given nothing to do. Moral as they were and are, they are placed in a position in which they cannot do what they have been taught is right. And they have been carefully brought up to feel miserable and guilty unless they do do right. . . . If our moral sense is strong enough to make us feel guilty, but not strong enough to make us criticize ourselves, we may drive the next generation, who also have a moral sense and also want to be right—at least part of the time—into the fold of totalitarian leaders." (5)

Paul H. Landis of the State College of Washington gives "A Sociological View of the Youth Problem". "Chronologically, the youth group is made up of persons sixteen to twenty-four years of age. . . . From a physiological standpoint, youth have reached adulthood. They have, in fact, already reached the age at which they could produce offspring, make a living, and assume moral responsibility for their choices if expected by society to do so. They do these things in most societies, and they did them in our frontier society of yesterday."

Three hundred years ago, when average life expectancy "was less than thirty years as compared with sixty-three years in the United States today", people had to reach maturity early. Today social transition is difficult, economically, morally and maritally. (6) "The school is rather far removed from the realities of the work-world in activities, motivation, and essential values . . . so poorly tied into the world of adult work-activity that it does comparatively little to assure the child of an ability to

make the transition to economic adulthood normally and naturally."

The "difficulties of growing up to the status of self-supporting adulthood have become enormous". If the child "fails, he becomes the delinquent, criminal, misfit, neurotic, or rebellious individual". It is not wholly fortuitous that the crime rate is "higher for the age group 19-24 than for any other. Over half the nation's crimes are committed by persons under thirty years of age. . . ."

In a static society the child "faces few problems of moral choice; for as long as the elders live, they make the decisions".

In our civilization, "where activities have become more complex than established social norms and where social demands have outreached traditional moral codes", parents not infrequently leave decisions on perplexing moral issues up to their adolescent offspring. "They asked him to decide the problem for himself because they had not been able to decide it for themselves." (7)

"A New Class Struggle: Youth Versus Age" is announced by Paul Niven in the *Social Frontier*, Jan., 1938. He recalls that the great sociologist, E. A. Ross, a decade ago predicted that the advance of medical science in lengthening human life will prolong the leadership and control of the old men in all places of responsibility. There will come a conflict with the young who revolt at being held back.

"Senility as a factor in social control" is not yet the subject of ridicule which it deserves to be. Our government, established for old men, has "constitutional restrictions which prevent citizens below a certain age from exercising legislative functions". The time may come when we will "curb the far more important activities of the aged millionaire whose clouded mind, set in vicious reaction, doggedly extends his sway over all the agencies of public opinion within the reach of his wealth and power.

"The United States is literally a country of old men's ideas; a country wherein the philosophy of old age, the psychology of old age, the phobias of old age, the neuroses of old age, and the prejudices of old age predominate. The United States continues to be led by old men whose mental processes have been solidified in the grooves of medieval theology." (8)

The problem of youth has become what to do with the old men. Their increase has brought into prominence a group of sciences. Gerontology seeks to understand. Geriatrics deals with their abnormalities as pediatrics does for the young,—the problem of handling and disposing of not merely the useless but the harmful aged. (9)

"The world is largely run by middle-aged and elderly individuals whose dispositions, bodily health and mental processes are presumably affected by senile changes. . . . If the course of world events is to be altered because this old man has an enlarged prostate, that one has high blood pressure, and the other has gastric ulcer or a wife going through the menopause, we have reason for desiring a somewhat fuller knowledge of the range, exact nature and general implications of bodily decline," asserts Hooton in "Apes, Men and Morons", pp 245-6.

Gerontocracy, the rule of the aged, becomes more and more ominous to the young. That's the problem of youth, to put the old men in their place and to take up the burden before they mess up things. As the age of conscription is lowered and the age limit is raised for those who still sit at the throttle, the problem becomes more and more pressing.

It is the old men who, brought to a dead stop in their diplomacy or financing, call on youth to pull them out of their troubles. In international affairs aged diplomats, as wicked as experienced, come to the end of their rope, and war begins. It is the only out for them.

"The clamor of the aged for economic security is heard throughout the breadth of the land. This clamor will be louder", Edward J. Stieglitz tells us, writing on geriatrics in the *Technology Review*, June, 1941. "The median age of the population will probably be forty-four years in another half century." As the expectancy of life increases with improved living conditions, the proportion of older people in the population becomes greater and greater.

"Education, which is preparation, has not kept pace with these changes in the social order. Educational curricula are still geared to the day when life expectancy was fifteen or twenty years less than that of today; when education to prepare the boy or girl for the competition of adult life sufficed. Neither parents nor teachers have taken cognizance of the necessity for preparation for old age. They have assumed with complacent smugness that the adult would learn how to grow old gracefully, happily, and usefully without training or aid."

On the shoulders of youth rests the burden of straightening out the war. Once recalcitrant, now drafted, they are playing the part. They have the stamina. They can march farther and go longer without food and comforts. To the military one youth of eighteen or twenty-one is worth two men in their thirties. So it is up to them.

"Wild Bill" Donovan, who made such a valiant record in the first

World War, just a few years ago wrote a magazine article protesting against this wasteful injustice of putting upon youth this burden of straightening out the old men's blunders. He advocated that if there was another war, the old men be called upon to fight it out, that the younger men be kept at home to carry on our culture and develop the next generation.

After the first World War there came general recognition that it was the old men who were responsible for the mess that brought about the war and its aftermath. As the present war began to seem inevitable, it was apparent that again the old men were in the forefront. They were playing the radical part. The younger men were more conservative and for a time stood out against war. They held to the determination, "never again", arrived at from the experience of the previous war.

Because of their conservative slowness to respond, these young men were looked upon as yellow, denounced as irresponsible, lacking moral principle. College presidents, educational leaders, won over to the adequacy of war, by patient reiteration and continuous pressure have gradually brought them along and conditioned them to take up the burden, which they have done. While the enthusiasm that characterized the undergraduate soldiers of the first war is not apparent, youth is soberly resolved to go into it, to see it through, to put an end to something, they don't know just what yet.

"American Youth: An Enforced Reconnaissance", edited by Thacher Winslow of the National Youth Administration and Frank B. Davidson of Harvard, and published by the Harvard University Press in 1940, attempted to survey and foresee. Contributors of the dozen articles included Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy, Reginald Phelps, Aubrey Williams, Charles W. Taussig, and there was a foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt.

Robert Ulich, writing on "Constructive Education", said, "Let us constantly keep in mind that the power of a society to reform itself never grew out of institutions but out of inner determination resulting from initiative, character, and faith. . . . It must not be said in the future that the American schools of the first decades of the twentieth century . . . were unable to preserve and foster the pioneer spirit of the United States, that they failed to see the conditions of its continual revitalization and, consequently, contributed unconsciously to its decay."

Fritz Morstein Marx, formerly of Harvard, now at Queens College, emphasized, "A new generation is rising, deeply conscious of the discrep-

ancy between social realities and the promise of the 'American way'. This is the generation to which will fall the decision over the continuation of the democratic experiment."

George S. Pettie, then instructor in government at Harvard, explaining "The Appeal of Totalitarianism", wrote, "The fear has grown in America since the turn of the century that American youth would perversely forsake the ways of the fathers and strike out in new directions". He reminded that "a generation of Germans lost all sense that hard work in the forms of the old order would bring any secure and adequate rewards", and suggested, "The information about pre-Nazi Germany goes far beyond anything comparable in scope and accuracy. This makes it a prime asset for us in any effort to avoid a similar result."

He pointed to "the failure of America to develop centers of conscious guidance. . . . Our federal government is itself ineffective in its organization for such a function. Our politicians have no such thing in mind. Our parties are oriented toward no such task. Our press, our schools, our centers of learning and the arts, are all designed to compete for popularity, not to solve our problems."

Frustrated and discontented youth, who had no stake in the country, seemed at that time to be in a pre-revolutionary stage.

Ely Culbertson in his brilliant autobiography, "The Strange Lives of One Man" (Winston, 1940), tells of his conversation as a young man interested in the Russian revolution with his Pennsylvania born father, who admonished, "And as for being a revolutionist—well, dammit, we Americans are natural revolutionists! Only, Ely, if you must be one, then don't disgrace your poor old father: lead, and don't be led."

Arthur B. Moehlman, editor of the *Nation's Schools* (Dec., 1940), asks, "Have Adults Imagined an American 'Youth Problem'?" It was after the wreck of 1929 that "we began to hear concern on the part of oldsters about youth. When enough individuals of the older generation joined this chorus, a youth problem was created. . . . Youth hardly thought of itself as a separate problem until this concern for its needs was sentimentalized by the older generation. . . . This generation is not much different from those that preceded it. . . . They have a deep-rooted feeling for democracy but are fundamentally so frank and honest that their reactions annoy and disturb the captious oldsters."

Youth offers no 'problem', if they are kept occupied, given a sense of responsibility and ways of winning satisfaction. But when there are no

jobs for them, when they feel they have no responsibilities and are unimportant, like younger children 'Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do', and they become a 'problem'.

The change to the preparation for war and the waging of war has modified all that, in this country as it did in Germany. The burden is now on youth.

NOTES

(1) "No child is born into the world with a moral sense. Moral concepts are inculcated. Moral sense is developed. Children are what we make them. . . . Children are not born to be delinquent. They become delinquent because of lack of guidance, unhealthy environment and, in many instances, because of economic disadvantage. . . . The world is entitled to good children, but we cannot have good children unless we have good parents, good teachers, good schools and a sense of social responsibility to the children who are here and to those who are to come", said Judge Jacob Panken, Judge of Domestic Relations Court, N. Y. C., in a broadcast on "Children Also Are People" (Talks).

(2) "The public school system of the country, at both elementary and secondary levels, whether explicitly 'progressive' in program or not, is Deweyized in its leadership", complains Adler. "I use the name of Dewey to symbolize . . . pragmatic liberalism" which assumes that "'science', which confessedly despises norms, would eventually supply all the guidance necessary for human conduct. . . . Public education in the United States is run by men and women who have been inoculated with pragmatic liberalism at the leading schools of education (Columbia, Chicago, Harvard, California) where fundamental policies are formed."

(3) Lloyd George had submitted a memorandum to the Peace Conference, March 15, 1919, warning, "You may strip Germany of her colonies, reduce her armaments to a mere police force, and her navy to that of a fifth-rate Power; all the same, in the end, if she feels that she has been unjustly treated in the peace of 1919, she will find means of exacting retribution from her conquerors. The maintenance of peace will . . . depend upon there being no causes of exasperation constantly stirring up the spirit of patriotism, of justice, or of fair play, to achieve redress. . . . Injustice, arrogance, displayed in the hour of triumph will never be forgotten or forgiven."

At that time Lord Halifax, then Major Edward Wood, with 200 Conservative Members of Parliament sent a telegram to Lloyd George "demanding the utmost severity against Germany".

"Clemenceau knew of the intrigue and the telegram; he was probably a party to the whole manoeuvre, for the sending of the telegram deplorably weakened Mr. Lloyd George's position vis-a-vis himself at the Peace Conference. The sending of that telegram . . . was politically irresponsible, for it placed the destinies of Europe in the hands of M. Clemenceau. . . .

"The origins of contemporary German youth are to be sought in Lord Halifax's own past; their spiritual progenitor is Major Edward Wood, M.P., of the Yorkshire Dragoons." (John Middleton Murry, "Betrayal of Christ by the Churches", Andrew Dakers Ltd., 1940)

(4) "Certain traditions in religion, morals, economics, and politics are still nominally held by the mass of adults, men and women', maintains Dewey. 'They are taught in schools. But the actual movements of social life are contrary to these traditions. They contradict and undermine them.' . . . But until recently to point out such inconsistencies between present conditions and ancient traditions has been considered too radical, and teachers have been thrown out of schools if they mentioned such things.

"The contrast between the traditions we have been teaching and conditions we have been experiencing is a challenge to our educators. It should be their ambition and purpose to stimulate and raise the level of collective thinking, to prepare the people for the inevitabilities of the changing world. But too many still look upon such thinking as radical, and conceive their function to be that of the old men of the primitive tribes, merely to hand down the ritual of tradition. That was all right when we were an isolated people, protected from the inevitabilities of a changing world." (Cf Handbook of Private Schools, 17th ed., p 23)

(5) Dr. Mead's latest book, "And Keep Your Powder Dry: An Anthropologist Looks at America" (Morrow, 1942), is "part of the program of the Council of Intercultural Relations which is attempting to develop a series of systematic understandings of the great contemporary cultures so that the special values of each may be orchestrated in a world built new". She hopes when the peace comes we may be able to recognize the best features of the different cultures and help to re-enforce them rather than neutralize or destroy.

After seventeen years spent in large part in studying, understanding, and explaining the problems of youth in other cultures, in 1939 she "came home to a world on the brink of war, convinced that the next task was to apply what we [anthropologists] knew, as best we could, to the problems of our own society."

The American, due to his childhood training, is apt to consider fighting wrong but sometimes necessary, so is slow to pick a quarrel but will fight when attacked. "By putting a chip on his shoulder and then waiting to have it knocked off, a boy can epitomize all the contradictory orders which have been given." This she lays in large part to the teaching of females.

(6) Marital adjustment has become increasingly difficult because "the American family has lost many of its functions as an institution for perpetuating the race; in fact its chief objective has become personal happiness. Today it is very much an institution that caters to individual desires rather than to social objectives. . . .

"The development in the United States of a highly romantic conception of marriage and the family, along with the trends in Western civilization toward increased mobility, has gradually led to the turning-over to young people of the choice of a mate. As a consequence, rather than the choosing of a mate for qualities that are likely to wear well, the family being thus built into a permanent insti-

tution, the objective of marriage and the family becomes a romantic holiday." (Landis, *School Review*, Dec. 1941)

(7) "General observation and the experience of reading more than a thousand autobiographies of college students have convinced the writer that the average youth of today by the time he reaches twenty years of age has made more moral decisions than persons of a generation or two ago made in a lifetime. . . .

"If industrial civilization is here to stay, as it undoubtedly is, society must increasingly recognize youth's problems by creating new institutions and revising old ones to make youth a profitable period in the preparation for adult life in a society which has done more to extend life than it has to provide for successful adjustments to living. . . . The youth group as a distinct problem group is new." Two new kinds of grouping, administered by the C.C.C. and the N.Y.A., have been devised in America to meet the problem, Landis comments.

The demand for work camps came out of the success of the C.C.C. which were inspired by earlier camps in Germany. In recent years, under the inspiration of Eugen Rosenstock-Heussey of Dartmouth who played a part in their early development and who was himself inspired by William James' essay, "The Moral Equivalent of War", there was organized the William James Camp in Vermont. This met with the usual opposition from ignorant politicians because of its supposedly 'foreign origin'. (Cf Handbook of Private Schools, 25th ed., pp 25-6)

(8) Chronological age has little relation to the state of one's arteries. For some, life begins at sixty, and some continue young at ninety, while others begin to decay or ossify even before they have attained any degree of mental growth or elasticity. As Niven remarks, "It goes without saying that there is a great variation among persons with respect to the relation between their chronological age, on the one hand, and the decline of their mental processes or the fixation of their mental attitudes, on the other hand. . . .

"The greatest obstacle toward a realistic attempt to solve our economic and political problems is the fact that the press, the radio, and the cinema industry are controlled by men suffering from involutional mental disturbances. . . . The young men, also, are neurotic. There is an anxiety neurosis. They are afraid of an uncertain future. . . . If and when American fascism comes to fruition it will do so because the morale of American youth has become impaired through frustration."

(9) "While we now have 45,000,000 young people under twenty, in 1980 we shall have only some 34,000,000. . . . Where we have 9,000,000 citizens over 65 today, by 1980 we shall have 22,000,000." (Stuart Chase, "The Road We Are Traveling", p 65)

MORALE AND EDUCATION

During the early summer of 1941 there was loud complaint about the low morale among our conscripted youth in the military camps. We had long heard from college presidents and those who trailed them that youth was lacking in moral courage and a feeling of responsibility. Now there was revolt in some of the camps and the slogan became OHIO, standing for "Over the hills in October", which interpreted meant AWOL.

The President at last took notice and appointed a long-legged, quiet man, Osborne, to give his whole attention to army morale. With improved organization, better equipment, and more purposeful activities, the situation in the camps rapidly remedied.

The enthusiasm for war which first blazed up in certain circles in our Eastern cities spread slowly over the country, banked up against the Alleghenies, delayed for a time and then spread over the prairie country like fire. Meantime Jeremiahs in the newspapers and magazines bemoaned the low civilian morale. The Gallup and other polls repeatedly and anxiously reported on this, and from administrative centers every means was used to heighten morale.

Even up into 1942 the national morale had been a source of worry. Archibald MacLeish, as head of the Office of Facts and Figures, as late as May, 1942, at a conference held at Harvard, advised the psychologists who were to speak to forget about morale in the army.

"Psychological Warfare and Morale", the subject assigned to Dr. Henry A. Murray, Jr., led him to reply, "I am afraid I must use the word 'morale'. . . . A certain number of psychologists . . . have been itching at one time or another to have something to do with or to get their hands into the problem of military morale. Certain reports they have heard about the fighting spirit in the camps during the last year and a half, particularly before Pearl Harbor, have disturbed them and they felt something could be done. . . . Officers are the chief morale carriers in the army." According to the contemporary crude stenographic record of the speeches, Murray continued, "There is the problem of the development of animosity, whether it is necessary or not necessary . . . whether men can fight without animosity in the usual sense and without an ideology

that they all agree on—in other words, whether the passionate morale we have read about and which has been reported in the cases of both the Germans and Russians is something that is possible or even desirable in this country. The striking fact is that there is very little, relatively little animosity against enemy number one in this country, in the army camps or elsewhere. . . .

"A psychiatrist recently returning from a visit of nine or ten camps was asked right off, 'Is there any animosity? Are men getting angry the way they have been in England?' He said, 'Well, sure—there is plenty of animosity. There is animosity first against Great Britain; a lot of it. Second, against the negro; third, against the Jew; fourth, against the Jap and there is a little left over for the Germans.' . . .

"For the time being at least the kind of morale we are getting, the American brand of morale 1942 is what might be called a professional morale—like the morale of a police force. This is a morale that is quite suitable to mechanical warfare, quite suitable . . . to an aviator who has to be highly conscious all the time."

A study of the press over a period of several weeks early in 1942 was reported on by Professor Gordon W. Allport. "Of the 765 items, editorials, columns and letters that were analyzed in the New England papers we rate only fifty-two per cent morale raising. . . . Only thirty per cent of the opinion articles could be judged as morale raising in the New England press whereas seventy-one per cent were judged that way in the *New York Times*."

Morale may be built among one's own people by appealing to their emotions,—to the fear that what they most cherish may be destroyed. "Strike—for your altars and your fires; strike—for the green graves of your sires; God, and your native land!" exhorted Marco Bozzaris. Horatius, or Macaulay for him, was a great morale builder,—“And how can man die better than facing fearful odds, for the ashes of his fathers and the temples of his gods?”

There is no question of morale in Japan. There the whole educational system centers on the inculcation of the doctrine of the divine origin of the emperor. Joseph C. Grew in his public addresses on his return in Sept., 1942, after ten years as ambassador, Joseph C. Harsch in the *Chr Sci Monitor*, Hanson Baldwin in his recent dispatches from the Solomons, and others who know the Japanese, warn us that they are tough customers. Their morale, as the result of their indoctrination during the whole

educational period, is so high that they will fight to the death rather than surrender. This we contemptuously describe as fanaticism, but at the same time are told that we must emulate them.

Nor is there any question about the morale in Germany. William L. Shirer, without any intent of bestowing praise, dilates on "the fantastically good morale of the German Army" and the "entirely new esprit in the German Navy. This esprit was based on camaraderie between officers and men. The same is true of the German Army." (1)

There is no reliable evidence that the German morale has diminished after three years of war and rationed deprivation. That morale is based on experience and the conviction widespread among the German people that they have been unjustly treated by the other great powers. Resentment and fear of possible defeat and the repetition of their experience after the last armistice heighten their morale and continue to drive them to increasingly frightful acts of terrorizing brutality. (2)

"The Nature of Morale" and "Building Morale" are dilated on in the 26th edition of the Handbook of Private Schools, 1942, pp 119-130. The psychologists' term for morale is drive, which as explained by Neal E. Miller and Dollard in "Social Learning and Imitation" is "a strong stimulus which impels action. Any stimulus can become a drive if it is made strong enough. The stronger the stimulus, the more drive function it possesses. The faint murmur of distant music has but little primary drive function." (Yale University Press, 1941)

Morale is more than the drive that originates from stimulus. To be sustained, there must be long continued force. Sometimes these forces come from far back. Propaganda loud speakers may remind the individual or arouse his ethnic memory of a Thirty Years War or Napoleonic Wars. Resentment lingers at the thought of devastation or deprivation. One may get something of this in reading Aldous Huxley's "Grey Eminence", or C. V. Wedgwood's "The Thirty Years War". Again surrounded, threatened, he is filled with fear, which acts as a whip, while hope attracts. This intensifies his drive. He has something to work, to strive, to sacrifice for. He has morale. (3)

Here is a particle in a field of force between two poles, similar to magnetic or electric poles, say. One pole, negative, repels; the other attracts. If those forces are equal, the two forces neutralize each other and the particle is neutral. Suppose the repulsion or attraction of one pole be increased or diminished, then the particle will no longer be neutral but

will move toward one of the poles until the forces are neutralized or equalized by distance.

An individual in this modern world lives in a similar field of force. He is influenced by the force that reaches him through the waves of sound or light, communications auditory or visual. These attract and repel and constantly move him in one direction or the other. Few remain neutral. Sometimes the drive from one pole to the other, or from the neutral position to either pole, is strong.

The neutral is one, then, in which communication, including the forces of propaganda that play upon him, have neutralized each other. As long as hope and fear remain unneutralized, you have morale. But the man who does not give a damn for anything has nothing to win, nothing to lose, has no morale. The carrot must be bigger or the goad sharper to move him.

"Good morale is as important to defense as guns and planes", Paul McNutt, Federal Security Administrator, under whose direction is the U. S. Office of Education, tells us. Our military found our schools and colleges had not delivered the draftees with a sufficiently high morale. So they have been obliged to assume the large responsibility for raising it.

Organized social structure is necessary to maintain the morale of a group or a people, emphasizes Chester Barnard. If there is doubt as to where authority resides, who is responsible for what, morale is undermined. If the authority of an individual is liable to arbitrary veto by those above him, morale is destroyed. "Authority is the character of a communication (order) in a formal organization by virtue of which it is accepted by a contributor to or 'member' of the organization as governing the action he contributes." (4)

"Morale" was a subject assigned for all the articles in the special November, 1941, issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Most of the contributors made heavy going. Professor William E. Hocking of Harvard explained that when falsifying propaganda is used, when deception begins, morale weakens. (5)

"We are morally and intellectually unprepared to execute the moral mission to which the President calls us", President Hutchins announced.

In April, 1942, in his Lowell Lectures, Dean-Emeritus Holmes of Harvard, commenting on Homer Lea's much quoted statement in 1909 that "a nation can become so rich that its very wealth will bankrupt it in a war with a country poor but frugal", asserted, "If it turns out to be a fact

that America is too rich to win this war . . . then all our speculations as to wealth and what to do with it will be waste paper".

"America is soft", President Roosevelt declared in 1940 after observing the National Guard maneuvers. Dr. C. Ward Crampton a little later wrote, "We are as far behind in physical fitness as in tanks and airplanes. United States Army Examination rejections" were, in January, 1941, "90% for aviation". (6)

But conditions rapidly improved. Even as early as July 13, 1941, Cabell Phillips could report in the *N. Y. Times*, "Our army of 1941 reveals us as a sturdier, healthier and more enlightened people than we were a quarter of a century ago. Our army of 1941 is the best educated in the world."

A high state of morale may well be attributed to the early training and conditioning of youth. The educational systems in Japan and Germany, it is well known, aim at and succeed in building high morale. In reviewing the voluminous literature in praise of our own school system we find little that would claim that our teaching has built a satisfactory morale. We have taken too much for granted.

"Good morale is perhaps our greatest need today", Head Master Fuess of Phillips Andover Academy declared at Tufts, Feb. 25, 1942, speaking on "This Matter of National Morale". "Our cherished belief that Americans are invariably invincible and irresistible will not bear examination, as is evidenced by certain battles in our history, including Bladensburg and Bull Run."

Goodwin Watson declares it is "almost incredible that we have spent so much time and energy preparing teachers with subject matter and knowledge about I.Q.'s and correlations, but so little on study of group morale". (7)

Courage prolonged becomes morale. A shot of adrenalin may give us courage but the effect of it soon fades. An addition of Vitamin B₁, thiamin, to our diet will give us continuous courage, and then we may have morale. To build and maintain morale we must build and maintain health. The body must be properly nourished. A people deprived of necessary vitamins become subservient, incapable of resistance.

NOTES

(1) In his "Berlin Diary" (Knopf, 1941), Shirer writes further, "The great gulf between officers and men is gone in this war. There is a sort of equalitarian-

ism. I felt it. . . . The German officer no longer represents—or at least is conscious of representing—a class of caste. And the men in the ranks . . . feel like members of one great family. Even the salute has a new meaning. German privates salute each other, thus making the gesture more of a comradely greeting than the mere recognition of superior rank. In cafes, restaurants, dining-cars, officers and men off duty sit at the same table and converse as men to men. . . . In the field, officers and men usually eat from the same soup kitchen."

The distinction between morale and "esprit de corps" is sharply drawn by Read Bain in an editorial in the *American Sociological Review*, Feb., 1942. "'Esprit de corps' and morale may exist together or either may exist without the other. Perhaps the Italians are the best example of high 'esprit de corps' with low morale; the Anzacs have magnificent morale but not much 'esprit de corps'; the British appear to have both. 'Esprit de corps' emphasizes appearance and ritual; it talks 'big' but wilts and disappears when the going gets tough. Morale implies permanent values and appropriate habits—the tougher the going, the more effective the performance. Morale means business; it produces the means to achieve the ends."

Reviewing Joseph C. Harsch's "Pattern of Conquest" (Doubleday, Doran, 1941), Keith Hutchison notes, "In a certain sense the Nazis have democratized the German army. Like Napoleon's it offers a career open to talent. The old barriers between the officer caste and the ordinary soldier have been torn down; the officers all come up from the ranks and are taught to act as older brothers to their men." (*Nation*, Oct. 11, 1941)

(2) Tolstoy in his "War and Peace" as early as 1866, Felix Morley tells us named as "the 'most usual' virtues accepted by every side in every war as the objectives for which it fights—'freedom, equality, enlightenment, progress, civilization, culture'. Actually, said Tolstoy, men fight out of the human desire for power. . . . How does the individual desire for power become politically effective?" And Tolstoy answers, when "the combined will of the masses is vested in one person". (*Sat Eve Post*, Apr. 18, 1942)

(3) "Two major military reversals, the defeat of Germany in the Thirty Years' War and the sweeping victories of Napoleon on German soil, have left their deep imprint on the German mind. These two occurrences have had a major share in influencing subsequent German political developments. After a long period of complete political dejection and subservience, following the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the voice of Kant rose from the wind-swept shores of the Baltic, admonishing his countrymen to pool their efforts, instead of wasting their energies in the thousand petty principalities of Rococo Germany. Out of the defeat suffered at the hand of the genial Corsican, another voice rose, another teacher and philosopher, spoke of defeat and reconstruction . . . Friedrich Hegel". (George Kiss in "Political Geography Into Geopolitics: Recent Trends in Germany", *Geographical Review*, Oct. 1942)

(4) From Chester I. Barnard, president of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, and member of the Harvard Board of Overseers, in "The Functions of the Executive" (Harvard University Press, 1938). In the telephone company the

president cannot pass over his supervisors, for authority rests on preserving the organization. He quotes Maj.-Gen. James G. Harbord, "The Army does not move forward until the motion has 'carried'. 'Unanimous consents' only follow cooperation between the individual men in the ranks."

(5) In "Morale and Its Enemies" (Yale, 1919) Professor William E. Hocking, who talked on that subject in the cantonments and on the Front during the first World War, then gave us a pragmatic war-time treatment of the subject as he is now doing again. Morale is to the mind what condition is to the body. It finds physiological support in the mobile reserves which nature supplies in the choice to resist, against that to succumb. The art of morale-building calls to its aid discipline, prestige, pride, home-ties, imagination and conviction. (Cf Handbook of Private Schools, 5th ed., 1920, p 83)

(6) Dr. Crampton, biologist, medical specialist in physical development, deviser of the Crampton Blood Ptosis Test, in "Start Today: Your Guide to Physical Fitness" (A. S. Barnes, 1941), a book which embodies good sense and good science, which "is only Nature using her brains", writes: "We attend baseball games, athletic meets, and boxing tournaments, and we see great deeds of thrilling manly prowess. We go away feeling that *we* did it ourselves, that *we* ran, jumped, fought, struggled, and won. *We* are the heroes! We get a similar thrill and satisfaction listening to the radio or reading the brilliant accounts in the newspapers. We are second-hand heroes!"

Massachusetts early led in 'physical education', under the leadership of Horace Mann, whom Dr. Rogers quotes. Mann "declared that 'no person is qualified to have the care of children for a single day who is ignorant of the leading principles of physiology' and he saw to it that this subject received due recognition in the first State training school for teachers set up over a hundred years ago. Horace Mann was, then, the first, if undifferentiated, State supervisor of physical education, using the term in its broad Spencerian meaning. A more fervent or learned evangel in the realm of school hygiene has not since appeared, and in no subsequent publications of State superintendents have two-thirds of their pages been devoted to such matters as was the case in the Sixth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education; that for 1843."

(7) From *Progressive Education*, Jan., 1942, in review of "Management and the Worker" by F. J. Roethlisberger, William J. Dickson, and Harold A. Wright (Harvard University Press, 1939), an account of a research program conducted by the Western Electric Company, Hawthorne works, Chicago. Perhaps the most significant discovery with regard to morale was that there existed definite group mores among the employees, who maintained their work-derived castes and customs and boycotted those who in doing "good work" were disloyal to the group and who, like "teachers' pets", served to lower the group morale.

HEALTH AND MORALE

Asked to talk about courage, Vilhjalmar Stefansson with intuitive wisdom replied that he knew nothing about it but would be glad to talk about adjustment. He felt that there was something more essential than mere courage. It was raw seal meat that gave him courage and morale, as the diet of our own people would not have, so that he could adjust himself to the environment and write of it as "The Friendly Arctic".

"Two-thirds of our people, rich as well as poor, suffer from malnutrition as a result of eating devitalized food. . . . The prevalent deficiency in the 'nerve and morale' vitamin, thiamin chloride or B₁ . . . may have produced 'irremediable deterioration of the national will' in this generation", according to Professor M. Wilder, chief of the Mayo Foundation's Department of Medicine and chairman of the National Research Council's commission on nutrition, quoted by Martin Stevers in "Modern Medicine's Program to Pay for the War" (*Tomorrow*, Jan., 1942) from an address to the American College of Physicians in April, 1941.(1)

"Dr. Henry C. Sherman, professor of Nutrition at Columbia University, pointed out that if everyone had an adequate diet, instead of an average diet, ten years could be added to our active life span. . . . General Louis B. Hershey, Deputy Director of the Selective Service System, estimated that 'perhaps one-third of the rejections were due either directly or indirectly to nutritional deficiencies.' . . . If people who now can spend only five cents a meal for food could spend ten cents, another 35,000,000 to 40,000,000 acres of farm land would have to be devoted to food production." (*New Republic*, June 9, 1941)

At the National Nutrition Conference, May 26-28, 1941, Vice President Henry A. Wallace said, "When we consider the inadequacy of their meals, it is not surprising that 40 per cent of the young men examined for military service are being rejected because of physical disability. . . . I am convinced that it would be possible to take the men rejected and by good medical care and proper food put perhaps half of them in condition to be accepted." (2)

Dr. Thomas Parran, who has brought to a high standard of efficiency the U. S. Public Health Service which now has a staff of four hundred, on

the same occasion said, "Studies of family diets by the Department of Agriculture in all income groups of the Nation show that one third of our people are getting food inadequate to maintain good health" and "less than one fourth of us are getting a good diet."

Dr. A. J. Carlson, professor emeritus of physiology, University of Chicago, citing this, adds, "If this is true, that makes it, not forty million, but about one hundred million Americans with an inadequate diet". The data, though not based on a scientific medical survey, justifies the conclusion. He denies J. R. Hildebrand's claim (*National Geographic Magazine*, Mar., 1942) that our "machine food age—born of roads, research and refrigeration—had made the United States the best-fed nation in history". Dr. Carlson says, "We have the food to do it, had we the intelligence."

Bewailing the impoverishment of our grained foods, reverting to the fact that most of the people of the earth have lacked their "pint of milk a day", that vitamin pill taking is becoming a fad, he asserts that rather than enrich the depleted white flour it would be better to add the necessary calcium, phosphorus and iron to our table salt. Man has come along during the thousands of years as an omnivorous feeder and we still need a varied diet. We need to "cleanse our present food and nutrition education of all fads" and take our "nutrition education from the ivory tower down to comprehension and appreciation of the common man". (A. J. Carlson, "Food and Fitness", *Scientific Monthly*, Nov., 1942)

While in Argentina wheat is rotting, 45 millions in Europe are starving. The Administration is unanimous in its aim: "Feed Britain, starve Europe. Starving Europe is a matter of diplomacy, and thus is the province of the State Department," declared Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt and asked, "How can public schools, colleges, and medical schools and adult education facilities be best mobilized to tell the story of nutrition?"

There's a crisis coming. *Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 24, 1942, states in eighteen months up to July 1, 1942, 1,800,000 workers left the farms for war industry. "A scandal far greater than the rubber situation looms in the near future. Unless immediate steps are taken to coordinate this country's system of food production and distribution, a major food shortage is a certainty", declared sober-sided Paul Willis, head of the Grocery Manufacturers of America Inc. *Time* Nov. 2, 1942, reports that 570,000 left farms in 1940, 1,000,000 in 1941. By seeding time an estimated

1,300,000 more will have gone. By next summer, 10,000 Minnesota and 10,000 Kansas farms will be sold or simply abandoned to weeds. In fertile New York, 1,400 farms have already gone out of production. Before snow flies 35,000 cows will be sold off Northeastern farms, and that means 64,000,000 fewer quarts of milk. Transportation is clogged and farm machinery unavailable. For the Lend-Lease Allies a billion pounds of meat and a billion pounds of dairy products have been bought in eighteen months.

"Developments in nutritional science outrun education", declares James A. Tobey in the *Technology Review*, Jan., 1942. "One can actually be undernourished on a diet that is comparatively rich in vitamins, if other energy-giving and body-building factors are lacking from the daily fare. . . . To change the food habits of the people is difficult. . . . Quick results generally cannot be attained from mass education. Witness, for example, the fervent attempts to induce people to eat whole-wheat bread in place of white."

Prejudices and tabus interfere. Indian maize from North America reached central Africa before the explorers. It is a popular article of food in southwestern Europe, and in Naples they sell roasting ears on the streets. But the English and Germans both scorn corn as we Americans know it, as only fit for hogs and chickens. Captain Jinks of the horse marines fed his horse on corn and beans, but the corn was the biblical corn, any kind of grain, but not maize. A Munich hotel proprietor told me the bread was adulterated with "mice", it sounded like, which horrified me. That is the German pronunciation of "maize".

For hundreds of years black bread was the food of the European poor. White bread was eaten by their rulers. Now that they have their white bleached flour, it is evidence to them of a rise in the world, and there is a prejudice against whole wheat. So the poor little island bred people, and Americans too, have to have their white bread doped with calcium and vitamins to replace the vital elements they have been conditioned to reject. Government has lacked the resourcefulness to teach them the value of whole wheat. In central Europe, on the other hand, the mass of the people have never arrived at the white bread stage, and so they are better nourished.

Dr. Victor G. Heiser, author of "An American Doctor's Odyssey", medical consultant for the National Association of Manufacturers, in a symposium "What is the Right Diet?" (N. Y. *Times Magazine*, Sept. 13,

1942), declared, "In a land of plenty today it is a crying shame that some ninety-seven million out of the nation's 132 million people are, according to competent authorities, ill fed. . . . In tests made not long ago in the aircraft factory, for instance, it was found that 48 per cent of the workers were deficient in vitamin A, 21 per cent in vitamin B₁, and 42 per cent in vitamin C. . . . Under these conditions they could not feel their best nor do their best work."

Dr. Norman Jolliffe, Associate Professor of Medicine, New York University, warns that "It is not difficult to obtain a good nutritious diet. . . . It is as important to know what not to eat as what to eat. The American people, however, have been conditioned by long usage to prefer white bread to such an extent that the sale of whole-grain bread has never exceeded 2.5 per cent of the total bread consumption. . . . For those, and there were many, in whom evident malnutrition has already developed . . . optimal diet may halt the progression, though it is doubtful that it will cure . . . except in occasional instances. Neither will self-prescribed multi-vitamin capsules, most of which contain maintenance amounts or less."

Dr. Otto A. Bessey, of the Public Health Research Institute of the City of New York, contributing, said, "It has not been for lack of knowledge of what to eat that has limited the efforts to better nourish the general population. . . . Education at all levels will help with this problem."

Dr. E. V. McCollum of Johns Hopkins University, Department of Biochemistry, emphasizing that "we should devote our efforts wholeheartedly to instructing everyone that a well-selected diet of natural foods is wholly adequate for the maintenance of optimum health", gives a table of the "essential constituents of an adequate diet", including at least ten of the twenty-two amino acids which arise from the digestion of proteins, four fat-soluble vitamins—A, D, E, and K; at least nine vitamins which are dissolved by water and which never occur associated with fats: C, B₁, B₂, niacin (nicotinic acid), pantothenic acid, B₆, choline, P-aminobenzoic acid, and biotin; one type of fatty acid (linoleic acid); a source of dextrose; at least thirteen inorganic or mineral elements—sodium, potassium, calcium, magnesium, chlorine, phosphorus, sulphur, iodine, iron, copper, manganese, zinc and cobalt; water and oxygen.

"We require approximately forty known nutrients, and the placing of undue emphasis on certain of these which are available for sale, rather than on the health significance of a complete and satisfactory diet, appears to be creating wrong impressions in the public mind. . . . There is

much evidence that many people are becoming educated to look upon some of the essential nutrients as remedial rather than nutritional.”(4)

“Not only is there no active promotion of health and physical education by State departments of education in half of our States, but it is evident that the personnel in those which carry on supervision is not always adequate”, writes Dr. James Frederick Rogers.(5)

“Malnutrition . . . produces a slow, silent rot of virility, vitality, and fiber from which recovery soon becomes impossible. It takes a lot of ill feeding to kill a child directly, but it takes very little to sap his value seriously”, Dr. Rogers quotes from the *Medical Officer*, Apr. 29, 1933. In another Office of Education Monograph, Rogers summarizes:

“The Tower of Babel built by school hygienists and physical educators in the past half century is reflected in the laws on which State supervision is founded, and the confusion has increased with the use of the same terms with both a general and a specific meaning. At the present time, however, the verbal atmosphere is becoming less murky.”(6)

The “Psychological Barriers in Health Education” which have long prevented the desired result that “Everyone Should Receive Adequate Health Education” were exhaustively reported on by Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations Counsel, for the New York Academy of Medicine, at its Annual Health Education Conference in New York City, Nov. 18, 1941. (*Vital Speeches*, Jan. 1, 1942)

At the conference the previous year it had been pointed out that one of the dangers in public health education was that it “might be guided by men who do not understand public health or the methods of education in it”. The “psychological barriers” to health education are the “attitudes” of men and the methods by which the necessary information is communicated.

Medical men act on the theory that “the truth alone will make us free”. They “tell” us, but they do not know how to “teach”. “Effective teaching must affect behavior. . . . The truth must be effectively implemented with techniques of persuasion to win.”

A decade ago the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care found that \$3,656,000,000 was spent a year for medical services, that is \$30 per capita, of which only \$1 is for public health services, federal, state, and local. In contrast, \$5,809,000,000 is spent for tobacco, toilet articles and recreation, and \$9,475,000,000 for auto and other travel.

“The findings of the President’s Interdepartmental Committee to Co-

ordinate Health and Welfare Activities in 1939 show . . . 70,000,000 people sick yearly, 1,000,000,000 days lost from ordinary pursuits, 1,500,000 new cases of syphilis and gonorrhea yearly, 95,000 deaths from pneumonia, 71,000 from tuberculosis, 143,000 from cancer, over 150,000 deaths connected with childbirth yearly; with little or no increase in life expectancy of persons in middle and advanced age. New York City undoubtedly accounts for 5.3 per cent of these."

Bernays concludes, "The public health education problems can't be attacked one by one. They must not be considered separately. They must be considered as elements of a broad problem, each having its relationship to the others and to the whole. . . .

"A national council on public health should be formed by all health education groups for the exchange of ideas and methods, for orientation of aims, goals, themes and values. . . . If all the time, money and effort, much of which is so badly misspent, were properly used in a unified public health education movement . . . thousands upon thousands of illnesses and defects yearly would be prevented."

There is another type of health in human affairs, as Julian Huxley has pointed out, in addition to the individual, the social. Both imply consciousness of being well developed, of having that "energy which makes men glad to be alive. It also means strong and vigorous minds that enjoy mental activity as the body does physical exercise."

Only in a social organization which provides security, work and opportunity for individual development and a feeling of participation can such health be promoted. The state, the college, or the school which fails to provide for both is not promoting the individual or social health which will result in high morale for both.

It all comes back to Emerson's dictum, man's first duty is to be a healthy animal.

NOTES

(1) As early as 1940 Harriett Elliott, the OPACS consumer adviser, declared that 45,000,000 of our people were living "way below the vitamin safety level" and these "not necessarily the ill-fed 'one-third of a nation' ". She reported that the Army "allotted two tablets a day, containing four other vitamins besides thiamin" to soldiers serving overseas. "The surplus Marketing Administration has spent about \$3,500,000 to date for 8741 pounds of thiamin." Miss Elliott's statements are so reported by John Kobler and John Rorty in the *Sat Eve Post*, Nov. 1, 1941. Their article, "Morale in a Test Tube", tells how "thiamin has come to be known as the morale vitamin. Two Mayo Clinic doctors showed why. From

women hospital employees they recruited eleven prime specimens of youth, vigor and efficiency and placed them on a diet low in B₁." After three months they generally showed deterioration in mental and manual dexterity. (Cf "Education in Wartime", pp 131-134, "Food Will Win the War")

(2) "The United States Army allows 21 cents per soldier per meal, retail prices. The meat ration of soldiers is twice that of any civilian group." Dr. T. Swann Harding writes in *Common Sense*, July, 1941.

In *Dynamic America* for the same month Dr. Harding explains more fully why this is. "Of our farm families . . . one-quarter . . . have poor and another quarter only fair diets. . . . In our cities and villages . . . only one-fifth . . . have good diets. . . . As a people we should eat twice the quantity of dairy products that we do, twice as much leafy green and yellow vegetables, and from 25 to 70 per cent more tomatoes and citrus fruits than we do. . . . During peace only one-quarter of our families have good diets, more than one-third have fair, and one-third have poor diets." In war "those to whom we delegate the task of destroying human life and property to preserve civilization do have . . . a complete ration. . . .

"On an annual-income per family basis, families on \$500 a year, representing about 8 per cent of our non-relief population, spend only 6 cents per person per meal; between \$500 and \$999 . . . 21 per cent . . . 81¼ cents; and 10½ cents among the 26 per cent with an income of \$1,000 to \$1,499. . . ."

But even those who have an abundance of food may not be properly fed. "We should all get our 75 grams of good protein, 0.68 gram of calcium, 1.32 grams of phosphorus, 15 milligrams of iron, 6,000 International Units of Vitamin A, 2 milligrams of thiamin, 60 milligrams of ascorbic acid, and 1.8 milligrams of riboflavin each and every day. At peace most of us get no such complete diet. . . .

"It is foolish for us to send the British the instruments and materials which will enable them to kill the enemy and destroy enemy property while we deny them the food that can alone make them able to use these instruments effectively."

(3) "Each active, mature male needs 3-4,000 calories a day merely to sustain health; 2,500 for a sedentary female—Europeans were not merely scantily nourished but acutely undernourished. The Poles were getting only 800 calories a day, the Belgians 960, Norwegians 1,500, Hollanders, 1,900, the Germans from 2,250 to 2,600, the British 2,800. These figures, based on the average daily rations permitted, overlooked the larder-bare fact that actually very few people in any of the countries are lucky enough to find or be able to buy the amount of food they are entitled to." (*Time*, July 21, 1941)

(4) Dr. Francis M. Pottenger, Jr., August 31, 1941, AP, declared that "the human race is sterilizing itself by sterilizing more and more of its food, milk and water. . . . He would like to see more American soldiers with heavier, if shorter, bones and with larger heads and broader jaws." "Experimenting with cats, he found that those fed cooked meat developed much longer but weaker bones. None of the third generation kittens of the cooked meat eaters lived longer than six months. Some of the cats became sterile after but two generations on a cooked food diet. 'In attempting to protect the race from bacteria by sterilizing food we

have also made the food incapable of producing healthy activity' he said."

This sterilization may not be wholly unconnected with the report of Drs. Frances Seymour and Alfred Koerner in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* that 9489 American children have been produced by artificial insemination, 3649 of whom were sired by 'donors'. 97 percent of the pregnancies resulted in normal babies. A thousand mothers had more than one by this method. More than 400 surgical operations were avoided.

(5) In the Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1938-40, Dr. Rogers in a section published July, 1941, reviews School Hygiene and Physical Education. He writes, "If adequate funds were made available, the writer of the next biennial survey should have a much more encouraging report to make of the application by schools of our knowledge of what should be done in the fields of health and physical education. . . . A period of 9 years has elapsed since a review was made by the U. S. Office of Education of developments in the field of school health work".

This lapse, it is claimed, is due to lack of public interest and to confusion of terms. 'Physical education' until recently covered "the whole realm of school hygiene". Now 'health education' is "limited to instruction in hygiene". 'Health service' includes "medical, dental, and nursing care of school children". 'Sanitation' has to do with maintaining "healthful conditions in the school plant".

This Monograph, a Bulletin of the U.S. Office of Education, now a branch of the Federal Security Agency, reviews the recent literature on physical education, health conditions, instruction and services in schools and colleges.

(6) Dr. Rogers in "Supervision of Health and Physical Education as a Function of State Departments of Education", Bulletin 1940, No. 6, Monograph No. 14, U.S. Office of Education, published 1941, points out that with the clearing of the "verbal atmosphere" of confusion of terms, "we have the fairly well-defined phases of: (a) safety supervision in school and of transportation; (b) health supervision or sanitation, aimed at the maintenance of a healthful environment; (c) health instruction, which needs no explanation and which interlocks with (d) safety instruction or education; (e) health examination or medical inspection; (f) physical education or instruction in and management of activities of the playground and gymnasium; (g) recreation, which is an outcome of physical education; (h) interscholastic athletics, also intimately linked with physical education, except that it is a wayward child . . . managed by a powerful organization usually independent of the State department of education."

(7) "In the last war venereal diseases cost the American Army, in a period of less than nineteen months, 7,000,000 man-days of time. A total of 338,746 men, the equivalent of 23 divisions, were out of action because of syphilis and kindred afflictions. . . . Since the war, the government has paid out \$82,043,500 for the care of permanently hospitalized syphilitic patients." Since Parran started his crusade in 1936 the rate has declined until 1941 when there "came the ugly uprising". (Cf Bill Cunningham, Boston *Herald*, Aug. 1942)

VITAMINS WILL WIN

"Food will win the war" was the slogan twenty-five years ago. Last summer Secretary of Agriculture Wickard said, "Food will win the war and write the peace. . . . The world needs vitamins and facts." Today the slogan may well be "Vitamins will win".

If complete control of vitamins were possible, any small number might reduce the rest of the population to impotence. "Malnutrition can also be used to keep nonworking populations of hostage countries docile and uninclined to revolt. Deprive them of the 'courage' vitamin B, and you have them", writes Dr. Harding in *Common Sense*, July, 1941.

"Since wars . . . are ended by surrender and not by extermination, it becomes apparent that defeat is the result not of loss of life, save, at the most, indirectly and partially, but of loss of morale . . . partly through the stomach, partly through the pocket, and partly through the spirit, as nothing more surely undermines morale than starvation," writes Liddell Hart in "Current of War". (Hutchinson, London, 1941)

In total war as the cost of killing by explosives rises higher, the importance of food as a cheaper weapon increases, for starvation is the advance guard of a host of enemies.

"Starvation will lead in time to lowered morale as families sicken and die from infections which would be well tolerated in normal times", writes Dr. Paul R. Cannon in the *Scientific Monthly*, Jan., 1943, on the topic "War, Famine and Pestilence." (1a) "Prolonged severe protein-starvation leads progressively to the depletion of the body's protein reserves from which both normal globulin and antibody-globulin are formed. Experiments in progress show, moreover, that animals so depleted lose the capacity to produce antibodies as abundantly as do well-nourished animals." Dr. Cannon quotes Graves,— "Grim, gaunt and loathsome, like the three fateful sisters of Greek mythology, war, famine and pestilence have decreed untimely death for the hosts of the earth."

The "Social Implications of Vitamins" are considered by Dr. Robert R. Williams. (1) The hormones of the hog, sheep and the ox are the same as a human's. One answers just as well as the other. "Thyroxine, for example, controls basal metabolism for frog, snake, bird and mam-

mal." Some carbon compounds are common to all life. Glucose is present in our blood streams "to the extent of about five grams". In all other blood streams and saps of plants it is present "as an important intermediate of vital processes. The green plants make it from carbon dioxide and from it they produce starch and proteins."

Glucose in all living things undergoes metabolism "by the action of a whole series of complex organic catalysts known as enzymes". Vitamins are "the prosthetic groups or business ends of these enzyme molecules". They are the "master keys" which "within the cells of all living things . . . unlock the stores of vital energy from glucose".

Fourteen vitamins have now been synthesized and there are many more known or suspected. Vitamins are what make all living matter go wrong when not present, reminding one of the small boy's remark "Salt is what makes potatoes taste bad when it isn't there". The effect of the absence of some vitamins has been known for hundreds of years, thousands perhaps. Beriberi, long supposed a nervous disease, we have learned within the past few decades is due to the absence of vitamin B₁; pellagra to the absence of nicotinic acid.

Biotin, the most powerful vitamin, it was announced October 9, 1942 by Professor Vincent Du Vigneaud, Cornell biochemist, at a meeting of the American Chemical Society in New York, had finally yielded its molecular formula, but is yet to be synthesized. "So potent was biotin found to be that a concentration of one part in 500,000,000,000" was capable of promoting growth. "Without biotin . . . no life could have arisen on earth". (William L. Laurence, N. Y. *Times*, Oct. 10, 1942) Du Vigneaud's paper was published in full in *Science*, Nov. 20, 1942.

The "fat soluble vitamins" are another group in the "enzyme systems". Sight in all animals is due to one of these, a carotenoid which is similar to carotene, the yellow coloring matter of carrots. From carotene all animal life is able to derive vitamin A. Without it there ensues blindness. (2)

What is the importance of all this research into vitamins and diets? Dr. Williams makes it clear that these vitamins have come to existence with the development of life during the past hundreds of millions of years. Only those creatures that were supplied with the necessary vitamins survived.

"One hundred years ago, though inadequacy in quantity was then even more prevalent among the poor", there did not exist the present "contrast in nutritional quality of food" which "is a product of the industrial

age". This is made clear by "the evidence adduced by Drummond and Wilbraham in the book '500 Years of the Englishman's Food'".

Modern studies by Orr in England show the killing effect of today's diet. "Rats fed on a poor-class English diet comprising white bread, margarine, tea with milk, boiled cabbage, boiled potato, canned meat and jam, failed miserably. Growth was stunted, the young were badly proportioned. . . . At the end of 190 days, corresponding to about sixteen years of the normal life of man . . . both pulmonary and gastrointestinal disease was found abundantly present. . . . By contrast, rats fed a simple mixture of whole wheat and whole milk grew and reproduced through many generations without evidence of abnormality."

The Indian peoples "rated according to mean stature and weight . . . fall in the following order—Sikh, Pathan, Maharatta, Goorkha, Kanarese, Bengali and Madrassi. Their diets range downward by gradations from that of the Sikh, who subsists chiefly on a coarse wheat flour called 'atta', a sprouted bean known as 'dhal' and milk, including melted butter or ghee. In the South rice with a little fish or meat makes up the food. Rats fed for two years on these diets showed gradations of vigor comparable with those of the Indian peoples. . . . Peptic ulcer was found in 29 per cent of the rats fed on the South Indian diet and not a case in those fed the North Indian ration. Similar contrasts were found by the use of other experimental animals."

But what does it matter if people do starve? That has always been. There are other implications, Dr. Williams points out. "Increasingly it becomes reasonable to suppose that the falling birth rate which characterizes peoples of long-established cultures may be traceable to dietary causes. . . . Experimentally, we know that food may in some degree determine mentality and disposition. In great measure it determines vigor and efficiency. To some degree it influences resistance to infection and therefore death rates. It may demonstrably determine fertility and influence maternal instinct." It may have been that "food supply has governed the tides of conquest not only by furnishing a prize of war but also by crowding the populations of the aggressors, intensifying their pugnacity and at the same time reducing the birth rates and undermining the vigor of those destined to be vanquished. . . .

"The Germans have practiced the decortication of grain for human use far the least extensively. They have enjoyed a more generous supply of thiamin and other vitamins which grains provide than Scandinavia, the

Low Countries, France, Spain, Italy or the British Isles."

"Vitamins in the Future" was the subject of the younger brother, Dr. Roger J. Williams, of the University of Texas, on the occasion of the presentation of the Chandler Medal to both brothers. Referring to various forms of dermatosis as evidence of vitamin deficiencies, he points out that dermatosis on the surface is observable. Perhaps other organs are suffering equally at the same time.

Our studies of vitamins have so far been generalized and little attention has been paid to the fact that "the chemistry of our individual bodies is not all exactly the same, otherwise a blood-hound could not use his nose to distinguish between individuals". (Cf pp 341-2)

It is possible that these slight variations in our bodily chemistry may affect us in countless ways as yet unknown. "It has been demonstrated many times that diet and specific vitamins affect the incidence and development of cancers induced by feeding butter-yellow. . . .

"One of the most important borderline fields in the future will be that existing between biochemistry and psychology. In this particular field vitamins will probably play an interesting role. . . . It is a truism that mental health is based upon bodily health, and there are some good reasons for thinking that vitamins may in the future contribute materially to mental health and to satisfactory psychological adjustments. . . . (3)

"Good diets, which mean an abundant supply of vitamins . . . promote intellectual keenness as measured by psychological tests both on animals and human beings. There can be no doubt that much dullness on the part of school children, particularly among the lower income groups, can be traced in part to a lack of the proper kind of food and specifically to the lack of enough vitamins. . . .

"Recent studies . . . have shown without question that intelligence and morality go together. The more intelligent a child is the less is his tendency to cheat, lie, steal or become delinquent. This high correlation between intelligence and morality can lead us to one conclusion. Since an ample supply of vitamins can foster a higher intelligence in human subjects it has also the capability of fostering morality. Vitamins in the future will not only give people better health both bodily and mentally but will increase their intelligence and their morality. It remains for the future to show to what extent these ends can be accomplished and how useful vitamins will be as tools for their accomplishment."

Dr. Williams' conclusions fall in with those of Julian Huxley in "The

Uniqueness of Man" (Chatto & Windus, 1941) who remarks on "the uncritical assumption, even among scrupulously careful persons, that differences in intelligence between social classes were genetic and not due to nutrition or other social factors". Dr. Heinrichs confirms the relation between health and scholarship.

"Without exception, health was to be an important factor in modifying scholastic standing, for within each I.Q. range, low health scores were found among the largest proportion of the students with low scholarship ratings", concludes Professor Marie A. Hinrichs. (4)

This conforms with Hooton's findings that the majority of criminals (those who get caught,—unsuccessful criminals) are of poor physique and give evidence of inadequate nutrition and poor health.

The first step, then, in raising intelligence is better feeding. And raising intelligence is the first step toward doing away with criminals. Let schools continue and churches do what they can. Both should do better.

NOTES

(1) Dr. Robert R. Williams, Chemical Director, the Bell Telephone Laboratories in "Social Implications of Vitamins" (*Science*, Nov. 21 and 28, 1941) traces the part that vitamins have played in the evolution of all life.

At the break of the century morphology was the all-important subject for biologists just as systematic classifications studies had been earlier which had been based largely on grosser external morphology. It was this kind of evidence, particularly from skeletal remains, that paleontology contributed to our understanding of evolution. While the theory was in dispute the importance of changes in form was exaggerated and the persistence of inherited traits was minimized.

"Alteration was exaggerated and the persistence of inherited traits was minimized so that, for the popular mind at least, the time scale was unduly foreshortened. . . . Consideration of the chemical descent of man, emphasized particularly by our new knowledge of the vitamins, corrects in great degree the illusory sense of gross, rapid and radical alteration suggested by morphology." It brings out the "conservative principles in nature". It emphasizes the continuity of the chemical constituents of all life composed of compounds of carbon with occasionally an "atom of nitrogen, oxygen" or hydrogen and, more rarely, some of the other elements.

"There are approximately as many known compounds of carbon as there are words in the English language" and the structural formulae are as complicated as "a German jaw-breaker. . . . The significant carbon compounds which occur in living matter" recur "throughout the entire evolutionary scale from unicellular microscopic yeasts to man himself". A view of the thousands of carbon compounds indicates a "common chemical inheritance of all living things".

(1a) Paul R. Cannon, Professor of Pathology, University of Chicago, quotes Clark, "It was the war epidemics and their sequelae, rather than direct military losses, that accounted for the deep prostration of Germany after the Thirty Years War." He quotes Major, "While the scientists of England, France, Holland and Italy were making the astonishing discoveries that mark the seventeenth century as a turning point in the history of science, depopulated and devastated Germany was rebuilding her destroyed cities, reclaiming her desert lands and trying to regain some vestiges of a civilization destroyed by thirty years of incessant warfare. The war had made a desert not only of their country but of their minds as well." To this Dr. Cannon adds, "The description of this widespread chaos makes one wonder if indeed it is a preview of the coming years. The achievements of modern medicine seem almost futile when confronted with such devastation." (Cf Aldous Huxley's "Grey Eminence" reviewed in "Education in Wartime" by Porter Sargent, pp 77, 78, 198, 199)

(2) The rods of the retina "function in dim light; the cones, in bright. Both . . . contain closely related photopigments." The cones contain a violet pigment called iodopsin. That in the rods is called rhodopsin "a compound of a giant protein molecule with a molecule of vitamin A". In the dark these recombine so the eye is rested. (Williams, *Science*, Nov. 21, 1941)

(3) "It is recognized already that one vitamin can and does cure mental derangements. One of the most distressing symptoms of pellagra are the hallucinations, dreams and other mental symptoms. These are tremendously helped by nicotinic acid administration. People who were so 'crazy' as to be totally incapacitated have been brought back to the point where they can perform the functions of a useful member of society. What other vitamins may do for mental ills is yet to be demonstrated." (Roger J. Williams, "Vitamins in the Future", *Science*, Apr. 3, 1942)

(4) From "Some Correlations between Health, Intelligence Quotient, Extracurricular Activities, and Scholastic Record", *Research Quarterly*, May, 1941, by Marie A. Hinrichs, Professor of Physiology, Southern Illinois Normal University.

But what about moral health and spiritual health, we are asked? President Bowman of Johns Hopkins, in an address on "Our Better Ordering" (*Science*, Feb. 28, 1941), a phrase taken from the Mayflower compact, reminds us that "a former Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States recently stated that the times called for a return to 'morality', defined as that which men and women through long discussion, observation and agreement about experience of social living have found to be good and have built into community character. This reads like a gloss on John Morley's conclusion ('On Compromise', 21-22), 'Moral principles, when they are true, are at bottom only registered generalisations from experience'. Vital to the general good is a sense of morality, felt, inculcated and built into a democratic society. It is fatuous, continues Morley, to believe that 'a government may depress the energy, the self-reliance, the public spirit of its citizens, and yet be able to count on these qualities whenever the government itself may have broken down'."

WAR AND THE CHILDREN

The burden of war falls heavily on the children. It brings death from starvation and disease as well as from bombings. Stunted by premature labor, rickety from malnutrition, the survivors are left to repair the damage, to build the future. Youth, as the scapegoat, gets the publicity, and later the survivors, as legionnaires, get the plums.

The old men who guide us into war and soon pass, tell the young men who fight the war that it is all for their children's children. The present generation pays with its blood. The next generation pays with its sweat, and is lucky to get off with that,—and they keep on paying as they go, too, for the sins of the fathers are visited "upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and to the fourth generation".

England's children are today working to pay interest on the debt of the Napoleonic Wars, money spent one hundred and forty years ago. Since on 'that September morn' when the Confederate general demanded a ransom of \$250,000 from the citizens of Fredericktown which they borrowed from their banks, they have been paying, and the fourth generation will continue to pay. The interest already paid is nearly double the original debt. Had their great grandfathers assessed themselves \$25 a head there would have been no debt.

The children of Europe, tens of millions of them, are today suffering irreparable damage for lack of vitamins. Now we know from the meager reports brought back, and little publicized, that the death rate of children for most of Europe is 40% higher than in 1941, and rising. Herbert Hoover, who fed the Belgians in the last war and the Russians later, has for three years warned us of the millions who would starve.(1) Any response to his appeal to Christians in America has been crushed. The Quakers, and they are few indeed though their good works are many, still maintain their services in Germany, plead for peace in India and continue to feed starving children in unoccupied France. This seems more Christian than the stand, 'hands-off', of the great prelates of established churches, and more in consonance with the attitude of him, who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me".

Three years of war have put an increasingly heavy burden on England's

children with England's educational facilities so disorganized. Evacuations, children in strange places, roaming the streets, working in the factories,—school buildings commandeered, have raised havoc.

England puts as cheerful a face as possible on the situation. The Ministry of Information, on behalf of the Board of Education, issued a 26 page brochure, attractively illustrated, for American distribution, elaborating on the adaptation of the educational system, the hospitality of the countryfolk who have made homes for the city children, the devotion of the teachers, the enlarging experiences of the children, and the improvised out-of-door activities. This is propaganda for America, not the picture that is presented to the English people in the English educational journals. The *New Statesman and Nation*, Sept., 1942, referring to the American film "Mrs. Miniver" bitterly points out that it represents the life of only a small fraction of the more favored people of England.

The premature and hasty evacuation of hundreds of thousands of children from the great cities brought much criticism of the government's action. After the first evacuation, children dribbled back to their homes in the slums, but were not permitted to remain undisturbed. Two years later, Aug. 30, 1941, the *Times* Educational Supplement still editorially demanded further evacuation of children that had returned to the city slums. While admiring the courage of the parents, they denied in totalitarian terms their rights. "One must condemn in no measured terms their open-eyed determination to make their children share the full horrors of total war. They have not had the right to do so. Children are not chattels to be disposed of at their parents' whim. This offence against childhood cries to very heaven." (2)

"British children have suffered more from evacuation from their homes than from bombing," said Dr. Douglas A. Thom, director of the Habit Clinic for Child Guidance in Boston (*Boston Herald*, May 15, 1942). "He explained that of 160 children examined in English evacuation clinics, there were 82 cases of enuresis, 63 of larceny, 10 of asocial behavior, three of retardation and two of epilepsy. . . . He concluded that evacuation which upset the child's sense of security so necessary to his mental and physical growth, was harder on him than exposure to war hazards with his family." (3)

The government and educational authorities in England, ruing the inferior quality of her cannon fodder, the stunting as a result of malnutrition and early labor, made moves early in the war to correct inadequacies

of the caste ridden school system and improper feeding.

Although the hopes of the people were raised, divergent forces within the government prevented their facing the school situation frankly. The inconsistency is illustrated in the leading editorial in the *Times* Educational Supplement, Oct. 14, 1940. Deploing that "eighty per cent of children have to go to work at fourteen", the editorial writer later objects to "raising the school-leaving age to fifteen or implementing the Day Continuation School part of the Fisher Education Act". It argued that some "boys and girls of fourteen . . . by reason of early maturity or for psychological reasons would be better granted more freedom for self-direction than full-time schooling allows" and he "would not stand in the way of their unforced and natural development".

The "Tory system is responsible for the decay of the countryside and the growth of the slums and derelict areas, for the 'gargoyle' faces of which C. E. Montague wrote, those products of malnutrition of the body and mind", writes Douglas Reed in 1941 in "Prophet at Home". (4)

Child labor is increasingly used in England, as it was during the last war, to produce munitions and food. Government Youth Training Centers are teaching "British children leaving school at 14 the mastery of machine tools, the use of electric welding". For children 12 to 14, "nationwide regulations now provide" a "ten-day farm-work holiday"; boys are paid fourpence per hour, girls less, *Time* reports May 18, 1942.

Reporting on "Youth in Industry", the *Times* Educational Supplement, June 27, 1942, tells us, "Millions of boys and girls under the aegis of the education service are engaged in productive work, or undergoing pre-service training, or both. . . . It is of the utmost importance that their abilities and energies should be wisely directed and used" in the national interest.

In "Recruits for the Mining Industry" "the proper placing of boys and girls" is the concern of the editor of the *Times* Educational Supplement, March 15, 1941. Each colliery is to be a training center for boys between fifteen and sixteen. The article emphasizes the "dangers of encouraging human progress without also providing the means to accommodate it". Of the dangers of mining and a nation living on its youth, nothing is said. But the picture comes to mind to those who have seen it of these lads returning from the bowels of the earth pale, wan, smeared with sweat and coaldust, to be greeted by fathers crooked of limb from mine accidents which prevent them from going down into the pit. (5)

The House of Lords voted to increase the working hours of children under sixteen. The AP correspondent in his cable, Feb. 10, 1942, to pass the censor put it in this involved way: "Today's House of Lords vote was 20 to 17 against a move to disapprove any increase in the hours of employment of young persons under 16 as contemplated under a general emergency order of December 23, 1941."

"Industrial accidents to minors under 18 years numbered 26,500 for boys and 8,500 for girls" for the year 1940, the Chief Inspector of Factories in Great Britain officially reports. The cause given is increased hours worked, due to war pressure, though for children 14 to 16 the hours have been held to 48 a week. (*American Child*, April, 1942)

The registration of boys and girls began in the fall of 1941, taking first those from 16 to 18. This was hailed as "one of the greatest educational experiments" in the *Times Educational Supplement*, Jan. 31, 1942, which expressed the fear, however, that the Board is "prepared to accept less than the country has a right to expect from young people of 16 and upwards at the present juncture".

In the House of Commons searching inquiries in regard to this were evasively put aside. Both the Parliamentary Secretary and President Butler of the Board of Education assured a suspicious public that there was no question of "press gang methods", and offered hope that this might be the means of "bridging the arch" to an extension of education, —after the war of course. "By the strange chances of war, the youth committees . . . have been presented with a golden and spectacular opportunity to prove their worth to the nation." (*Times Educational Supplement*, Dec. 13, 1941) (6)

In *Bulletins From Britain*, Mar. 11, 1942, the situation was presented to Americans in glowing colors. "With the New Year registration of 1,500,000 boys and girls between sixteen and eighteen for national service,—Britain's man and woman power, from sixteen to fifty-one, now forms one unbroken battle line." All "will receive preliminary training".

Reports of partial results for London and vicinity (*Times Educational Supplement*, Sept. 12, 1942) indicate that about half the boys and one-third the girls already belong to some organization. 3.5% of the boys declined to undertake activities. Many of them were excused because of already long hours of work, long distances to travel. 60% promised to join a Service organization, the Home Guard, or the A.T.C. (training unit for the air force), the Sea Cadets, or the Army Cadets. Only 2%

of the girls declined to undertake activities. 42% promised to join some Service organization. But in addition many wished to join Civil Defense Services and youth centers.

The fascist idea that children belong to the state continued to be forced on the people by those in control. Peter Lyne, Sept. 17, 1942, staff correspondent, cabled the *Chr Sci Monitor*, "A conservative postwar educational program including a plan for compulsory enrollment of all young people between 14 and 18 for part-time service to state was published here yesterday." This provides for "compulsory membership at 14 in a federation of youth incorporating all existing youth organizations". The purpose is "to control part of the unemployed time of boys and girls between 14 and 18 in activities 'to promote interests of the state and develop any future career of the individual as regards body, mind, and spirit' ". The motive is "to perpetuate that new sense of service and sacrifice which has inspired this nation in war".

A month later, Lyne cabled that, talking with "girl munition workers in a poorer urban district", he found that they worked up to sixty hours a week for £3, approximately \$12, were "very tired and very cynical" because of "managerial dislocations and inefficiencies in their factories, and big price discrepancies".

In the United States, as manpower is taken for the army, we are gradually coming to the same use of child labor that in England seemed so shocking. Mary Hornaday writes in the *Chr Sci Monitor*, Feb. 25, 1942, "Child labor reformers are admittedly alarmed at reports that children as young as eight have been taken to the fields to work under the guise of a 'defense necessity'. Yet they realize that peacetime child labor standards may have to be relaxed somewhat 'for the duration'."

The 1940 U. S. Census showed a decrease of 40% in children, 14 and 15, in labor compared with the 1930 census. But for the first 6 months of 1941 there was an increase of almost 100% in employment certificates issued over the same months of 1940, the Children's Bureau reports.

"Coupled with the increase in legal child labor, evidenced in employment certificate figures and school closings, come reports of increasing violations of the child labor law from various state labor departments and definite attempts, as evidenced in last year's legislatures, to break down legal standards", reports the National Child Labor Committee in its December, 1941, monthly bulletin, *American Child*.

In "Child Workers in Wartime", a pamphlet published by the Com-

mittee in May, 1942, they report "an increase in the number of children of 14 and 15 years leaving school for . . . illegal employment both during and outside of school hours; a startling rise in the number of young people 16 and 17 years old dropping out of high school for jobs; and pressure to lower child labor and school attendance laws 'for the duration' ". Secretary of Labor Perkins dropped the age requirements, at the request of the War and Navy Departments, to 16 to permit more girls to take their place on the production lines. (AP, Nov. 16, 1942)

In October, 1942, the *American Child* tells of the 100% increase in New York of the labor of minors 14 to 17 years of age, and of alarming changes in federal laws, one of which, H.R.7350, would permit exceeding the eight-hour day in the sugar beet industry for children of 14 years. An October 3, 1942, release of the Committee "notes with concern the recent emphasis given by Major General Hershey, Director of Selective Service, to the possibility of curtailing education with a view to using children in war production".

NOTES

(1) Herbert Hoover's proposals and guarantees for the feeding of Belgian children having been rejected by Whitehall and the White House, only the Swedish Committee for the Relief of Belgian Children is acting. They announce "the mortality among children in Belgium is now appalling, conditions being infinitely worse than a year ago. Probably the state of Belgium will soon be as bad as, if not worse than, that of Greece." Children from 1 to 14 years and girls in their teens "showed no growth at all in the course of a month. . . . Cases were recorded of children on the verge of starvation being kept in bed in the hope that by conserving energy they might increase in weight." A thousand Swedish families offered to take Belgian children into their homes but "owing to difficulties of transport the plan had to be abandoned. . . . The committee expressed the hope that further and more adequate relief may be organized by the British and American Red Cross organizations, or some other bodies, as is being done for Greece. The committee is sure that satisfactory guarantees can be obtained." (*Times Educational Supplement*, Oct. 17, 1942)

"During the three years following the last war more individuals died from famine and preventable diseases than were killed in the war itself." (From "Medical Relief in Europe", by Melville D. Mackenzie, M.D., The Royal Institute of International Affairs, reprinted in *Scientific Monthly*, Jan. 1943)

(2) Speaking of the effect of actual war conditions on children, Anna Freud and Dorothy T. Burlingham in their "Report on Hampstead Nurseries" (issued April, 1942, by the British Foster Parents' Plan for War Children, N. Y. Headquarters, 55 W. 42d St.) write: "Instead of turning away from them [incidents

of wholesale destruction] in instinctive horror, as people seem to expect, the child may turn towards them with primitive excitement. The real danger is not that the child, caught up all innocently in the whirlpool of the war, will be shocked into illness. The danger lies in the fact that the destruction raging in the outer world may meet the very real aggressiveness which rages in the inside of the child. At the age when education should start to deal with these impulses, confirmation should not be given from the outside world that the same impulses are uppermost in other people. Children will play joyfully on bombed sites, around bomb craters, will play with blasted bits of furniture, and throw bricks from crumbled walls at each other. But it becomes impossible to educate them towards a repression of, or a reaction against, destruction while they do so." (Quoted by Menninger in "Love Against Hate", Harcourt, Brace, 1942)

(3) "Children in Wartime England" in *Journal of the American University Women*, Fall 1942, by W. E. Blatz, professor at the University of Toronto now serving in India, presents a glowingly optimistic picture of what the government has done for child life,—"Too much praise cannot be given . . . the authorities . . . in the second evacuation from London nearly a million and a half . . . were transported . . . in seventy-two hours."

"In Great Britain, schools and universities are closed or are being starved for want of funds. Institutions centuries old, world-renowned, famed seed beds of scholars and scientists, are lifeless because the pursuit of knowledge was divorced from the realities of life and because teachers were indifferent to conditions which surrounded them", reported Edgar W. Knight, Professor of Education, U. of N. C., in *School and Society*, Nov. 23, 1940.

(4) "Children of Dockland" by Nan Goodall, S. P. C. K., gives a picture of child life in the fairest part of England, the most prosperous of its ports, Southampton. "Docks work is always irregular." At 14 shillings a day wages rarely come to more than 30 shillings a week. "Many have to exist in dirty, tumbledown, condemned houses. . . . 40 per cent of Southampton's population is undernourished." Children "suffer from skin trouble and extreme dirt. . . . There is apparently colossal ignorance of sanitation." The *Times* Educational Supplement, Mar. 29, 1941, refers to the condition as a "disgrace" that "will shock people".

Coleridge a century ago painted a picture not so different. "We have game laws, corn laws, cotton factories, Spitalfields, the tillers of the land paid by poor rates, and the remainder of the population mechanised into engines for the manufactory of new rich men; yea the machinery of the wealth of the nation made up of the wretchedness, disease and depravity of those who should constitute the strength of the nation."

"Health or rather the lack of health, moral, and physical, is the subject which provokes the most eloquent outbursts in this eloquent book", writes Geoffrey Bruun, reviewing the Lohrkes' "The Long Watch in England" (Holt, 1940), in the N. Y. *Herald Tribune*. "All the signs of decay which abound in rural England exact a toll in weakened stamina—the crumbling and unsanitary houses, the inadequate diet."

Referring to what he saw in his foot trip across the Midlands in the summer of 1940, Bruun writes, "No visitor who has contemplated the flocks of weedy youths in the dismal village pubs can soon forget their faces, the faces of amiable and aimless lads, with rotting teeth and abstracted empty stare",—unfit for cannon fodder.

(5) The items from local correspondents in the *Times* Educational Supplement gives an intimate insight into the education and life of English children more to be relied upon than the doctored information prepared for export. One gets the impression that the boards of education and city councils are devising ways and means of getting more work out of children and cutting down on their food. The Durham Board of Education recommends that children between the ages of 12 and 16 be employed at fourpence an hour to plant and harvest the potato crop. The Liverpool city council is leasing its schools to Roman Catholic managers at 4 and 3 pounds a week. At York the juvenile employment report shows 76% of the vacancies for boys and 84% for girls are filled, as compared with 44% and 57% the previous year. (Mar. 29, 1941)

The West Riding Education Sub-Committee is asking that boys and girls be permitted to leave school before they reach their 14th birthday, as "the collieries are wanting boys immediately". The girls are wanted for other "equally 'beneficial' employment". (June 28, 1941)

"The Wigan Coal Corporation, Ltd. are introducing an interesting training scheme for boys. . . . During the course the boys will receive instruction . . . one full day and one half-day per week. . . . During the remainder of each week . . . from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. . . . they will work on the picking belts at the screens during the early stages of the course. . . . The aim of the course is to give each boy an initial training, so that his entry into pit life is interesting and safe." (Oct. 25, 1941)

At Glasgow the education committee proposes a farm "be acquired for a large-scale experiment in food production, where selected pupils over 14 years of age could receive a thorough training, theoretical and practical, in land work and farm management, a training that would last for two or three years, and which would include a certain period of residence on the farm". In Northumberland "the county education committee have drawn up a report on the ploughing-up and cropping of unused portions of school playing fields to meet the requirements of school canteens and to provide a means of agricultural education". In North Riding "249 schools sent older children to work on farms". (Mar. 21, 1942)

(6) A letter from the Chairman of A.J.A.C. to the *Times*, March 29, 1941, protests "the disastrous gap in the education of the young workers between 14 and 18 and the imperative need for the reenactment of some form of day continuation school. . . . We are told that this is impossible. . . . We are promised a school-leaving age of 15, after the war. We remember the promises of 1918. . . . If the Government really meant what they said" they would take steps.

MANUFACTURING CRIMINALS

Our cherished way of life, our Christian civilization, what the anthropologist calls 'culture', has done little enough to make the children of the poorer classes healthier in our great industrial cities. Malnutrition will leave many defective, physically and mentally. Today we call them delinquents and some will go through life branded "criminals". Our ancestors called them "sinners", believing them susceptible to the wiles of the devil. But the survivors remain to propagate.(1)

Juveniles who do not behave in accordance with the mores of the time and the precepts of their elders are delinquent. Our Puritan forebears believed that children should be seen and not heard, that their spirit and will should be broken. The child that they would have considered delinquent, we would today praise for his initiative.

We elders create or tolerate social and community conditions which promote delinquency, which tempt or lead the child to violate the precepts that we hold. It has been experimentally shown with animals, and with children too, that frustration and resentment lead to aggression. This might have been seen in a majority of our homes and institutions, but as no accurate observations or comparison of results have been recorded, it is not an experiment—it is just experience. Almost any child can be so treated as to make him a liar or a thief.(2) It's easier to bring about this reversion than to make him an honest man—"the noblest work of God". And the process of making them dishonest is going on all about us all the time largely unconsciously. Diogenes would have just as difficult a task today even among "the Allies" as he did in ancient Athens. "It was not so many years ago that man lived by piracy, stole his neighbor's pastures, and seized his enemies' wives. . . . Obviously morals and behavior are the creatures of the times, not the creators of the times." (Crile)

Though we are more intelligent and more understanding than in the past, we continue to manufacture criminals in this wartime. We are rapidly catching up with the startling situation statistically revealed by social workers a year or so ago in England.

"Suddenly, the country is aware of what war is doing to its children."

We are shocked with the "lurid accounts of . . . rapes and robberies committed by adolescent boys, of little girls leaving home to play harlot. . . . The increase is greatest in the 10-13 age group and it is not due to petty sins like stealing fruit or breaking windows. American youth is on the same kind of lawless rampage that swept England's youth in 1940," proclaims *Life* to its 35,000,000 readers, Oct. 26, 1942.

"Though the basic reasons for delinquency (broken homes, extreme poverty, incompetent or depraved parents) still exist, war is directly responsible for the boom. . . . War's sanction of violence and hatred makes children feel that it's smart to be immoral."

The increase in juvenile delinquency was accounted for in the London *Times* Educational Supplement, March 15, 1941, in this way,—“Too much, too heavy, too intense, or too monotonous labour tends to set up in young people, and more particularly in boys . . . a bored and irritated tiredness which seeks release, not in rest but in restless activity.” (3)

Letter writers to the *Times* suggest all sorts of causes for the increase. The young in war industries receive too high wages and go out for “easy money”; homes are left fatherless because of conscription; boys clubs have been closed; the blackout makes looting easy; the war brings excitement and unsettlement. The letter writers suggest, too, varied remedies,—more religion in the home and school and ‘remand homes’ to which are committed those whose sentences have expired. There is a growing consensus that “it is the duty of all concerned to deal with these offenders in no merely punitive fashion. The use of the birch for example is described as not suitable.”

A report on juvenile delinquency, an outcome of a conference of Christians,—Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Free Churches, was issued in the fall of 1942 under the sponsorship of the Bishop of Liverpool and representatives of other churches. They suggest more church supervision of children's leisure time and pocket money, that fines imposed on children “be payable by installments” (He is 12 years old, earns fourpence an hour, take it away from him.), and “further powers to probation officers to apply correctional treatment during probation”. The report concludes “that the discretion of the justices to order whipping should be retained . . . to order corporal punishment by means of a cane, and there should be as little delay as possible”. Little children suffer that come unto them.

The British National Education Association in its report, 1942, is concerned by “marked increase” in delinquency, the “longer hours in the

Potteries" (page Arnold Bennett), the demand of the Roman Catholics "that their schools should be wholly maintained out of public funds", the Archbishops' "Five Points" on religious instruction, the 9000 Church of England schools still remaining "below modern educational requirements". "There are about 4,000 parishes where the only available elementary school belongs to the Church of England."

In a joint memorandum drawn up by Britain's Home Office and the Board of Education, published in and editorially commented on by the *Times* Educational Supplement, June 21, 1941, the growing delinquency is complacently attributed to war conditions with the remark that "the number of young offenders is still only a comparatively small proportion of the total number of boys and girls". Local correspondence in the Educational Supplement, however, indicates that an increasingly high percentage of the children dealt with are committers of first offenses.

"Offenses among children under 14 during the first four months saw a rise of 62 per cent over a corresponding period in the previous year. The younger adolescents (14 to 17) produced a 41 per cent increase for the first four months of 1940, while the older group (17 to 21)—many of whom by that time had already enlisted in the British Army and Navy—contributed a 16 per cent increase. Scotland's wartime statistics tell us of an increase in 1941 of 52 per cent in juvenile delinquency." (Edwin J. Lukas, "Delinquency and the War", *Child Study*, Summer, 1942)

Children in England have received little scientific attention. In "Poverty and Progress: A Second Social Survey of York" (Longmans, Green and Co., 1941), B. Seeböhm Rowntree, of the famous Quaker family of cocoa manufacturers, resurveys a situation in his native city forty years after his first survey,—*"Poverty: a Study of Town Life"*, 1901. While he finds improvement in living conditions, 49% of the children still exist in poverty during the first 13 years of life. 89% of the children live under conditions of poverty for more than 5 years of their early life, sufficient to determine their future physique, habits and attitude.

In 70% of the families, the cause of poverty was inadequate wages or unemployment. 7,837 families, reduced to the standard family of man, wife and three children, had a weekly income, after rent, of 33 shillings sixpence, which is less than \$8.

At 14 children leave school unless they have passed the examinations taken at the age of 11 which entitle them to go on either to a terminal high grade school or a secondary school which may open the way to the

educational ladder. In the secondary school a family pays 15 pounds 15 shillings for boys, 12 pounds 12 shillings for girls, though fees may be remitted for poverty.

How little accurate survey work there has been, except in York, is remarked on in "Young Offenders, An Enquiry into Juvenile Delinquency" by A. M. Carr-Saunders, Hermann Mannheim and E. C. Rhodes (Cambridge University Press, 1942), who show what can be done with existing records to assess trends in the incidence of juvenile delinquency. "The existing evidence goes to show that among male juvenile delinquents boys of 13 are most prone to commit offences." The broken home is regarded as of less importance than the neighborhood living conditions, but from their investigation of 1,000 cases of delinquent boys they conclude that "the chance of a delinquent coming from a home with a disturbed home atmosphere is three or four times as great as the chance of a delinquent coming from a home with a normal atmosphere".(4)

In "The Child and the Magistrate" (Cape, 1942), John A. Watson, juvenile magistrate sitting one day a week but engaged all other days "as a surveyor" in poor districts, holds "that bad housing is one of the root causes of nearly all our social ills".(5)

In our own country the increase in youthful crime is even more serious than in England where, before the war, crime was not so prevalent. "We have the biggest 'crime load' of any civilized nation. . . . The crimes against property—burglary, robbery, larceny and auto theft . . . are pre-eminently 'youth crimes'. . . . Youth from 16 to 21 supplies 40% of the nation's burglars, 28% of its robbers, 22% of its larcenists, and 50% of the auto thieves. If our experience is anything like that of England, war-time conditions will increase greatly the crimes attributed to juveniles." (John D. Rockefeller, III, *Life*, Oct. 26, 1942) (6)

"That this menace of war-stimulated delinquency might be checked, that what happened in England might not happen here . . . a group of sober-faced men and women met in a New York hotel a few months ago . . . the Nation's outstanding criminologists", Josephine Ripley reported after interviewing Dr. Eleanor T. Glueck, Research Associate at Harvard Law School, for the *Chr Sci Monitor*, May 26, 1942.

Dr. Glueck considers the "steadily rising . . . tide of youthful offenders brought to juvenile courts . . . a by-product of war". She "went on to explain that 'shooting, killing, hatred, plundering are more likely to fill the minds of youngsters living close to danger in a warring nation. To

use a gun for a stick-up, to loot, even to murder becomes less terrifying in a war-torn world.' . . . Many young girls seen on the streets picking up sailors and soldiers are well-brought-up girls from good homes. . . . Young girls are naturally thrilled by a uniform. They fancy they may find story-book romance on the street corners. . . . Parents should be awake to this and put these sailor-and-soldier meetings on a right basis, in the right place." (7)

In many another city and in some states the seed that Ben Lindsay sowed in Denver a generation ago has flowered in child saving agencies, but in the nation as a whole child labor and delinquency are rising. (8)

A Baltimore judge at the National Probation Association meeting in Boston in 1941 stated that prison population increased 84%, general population only 12%. He raised the question what to do with criminals.

Lewis E. Lawes, long warden of Sing Sing, has answered, "Stop manufacturing them. He puts the burden on the home and school. In "Meet the Murderer!" (Harper, 1941) he tells of his young friends who had been committed to his care, and quotes Goethe, "There, but by the grace of God, go I". But if one does not have to live in slums or a broken home he will need less of the "grace of God".

In New York City for the first three months of 1942 "Children's Court appearances increased 10.3 percent over a corresponding period in 1941. . . . While Negro delinquency rose 23 percent in 1941 over 1940, the ratio of delinquency and adolescent crime as a whole had more or less constantly decreased from 1937 to the end of 1941." (Edwin J. Lukas, "Delinquency and the War", *Child Study*, Summer, 1942)

In Chicago the socially minded have been particularly alert to the great increase in juvenile delinquency. The Chicago Recreation Commission in a review of the situation calls for "the election of block mothers as co-workers with our civilian defense block captains, to help organize each community's social protection". Professor Ernest W. Burgess of the University of Chicago is chairman of another committee of the Commission which "recently completed a survey of 23,000 boys and girls between 10 and 17 in five representative city areas". He "pointed out that juvenile delinquency in Chicago has increased nine per cent since Pearl Harbor. . . . The remedy, it is held, is an over-all co-ordinated program which will not only provide stimulating recreational opportunities but lead young people to them." (*Chr Sci Monitor*, Oct. 8, 1942)

"Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas" (University of Chicago

Press, 1942), by Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, reports on 21 cities studied under pre-war conditions. They find the greatest delinquency near the center of the city, particularly under slum conditions. In Chicago the rate of delinquency for the period between 1927 and 1933, diminishes among boys 10 to 16 from 18.9 per hundred per square mile to .5 per cent per hundred in the outskirts. Individual methods of treatment they believe relatively unimportant, "improvements in the economic and social conditions" are essential.(9)

In Toledo all this is being prevented, children made healthier and happier and good citizens, as *Life*, Oct. 26, 1942, shows pictorially. "Toledo, Ohio, is one of the few U. S. cities that was equipped to deal with this emergency before it arose. Six years ago, the Toledo Juvenile Court was unscientific, indifferent and callous. Then irate citizens demanded an investigation, threw political hacks out of office and installed as judge a wise and kindly jurist named Paul Alexander. Judge Alexander is now president of the National Association of Juvenile Court Judges, sat on the Committee for the Revision of Standard Juvenile Law when it met in New York two weeks ago to consider new legislation against the child-crime peril.

"The formula is simple: diagnosis and treatment instead of sentence and punishment; trained psychologists and social workers instead of political appointees; individual care and rehabilitation in a Child Study Institute instead of prolonged confinement among hardened criminals. The results: fewer new offenders at a time when they have multiplied alarmingly elsewhere and, more significant, a 50% decrease in the number of repeaters."

"Right Handling Can Reduce Youth Crime—Experience shows that punishment doesn't pay" declares John D. Rockefeller, III, in the title to a four page article in *Life*, Oct. 26, 1942. Young Rockefeller, now a naval lieutenant working in the Navy's Washington Bureau of Personnel, was named chairman of the New York Community Service Society's Committee on Youth and Justice in 1939. He is interested in the youthful criminal too old for the juvenile courts and emotionally too young for the adult courts.

"Under our present system of fitting the punishment to the crime instead of to the criminal, what happens? . . . Out of 479,701 persons whose arrests were reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation during the first nine months of 1941, a total of 244,843 had previous criminal

records, and 165,086 had previously been found guilty 511,187 times.

"We have, then, these inescapable conclusions: The present system in dealing with convicted criminals fails to prevent repeated crime; youths form a large share of these repeaters, and the proportion of crime by that age group is increasing. Hence, youth—the period of readiest response to corrective treatment—is the focal source of the country's crime burden.

"To quote Professor John Barker Waite of the University of Michigan Law School: 'If the known criminals between 16 and 21 had been handled so as to prevent their repeated wrongdoing, the nation's burden of adult crime would be relatively negligible.' . . .

"Rehabilitation—where possible—has been substituted for 'punishment and expiation', not simply because it is more humane, but because it is the most practical method of 'protecting society'. And that, after all, is the purpose of our criminal justice.

"Until the average young offender is looked upon as a youth in trouble, not a dangerous criminal; until the correctional institution is considered simply as one of the community's agencies offering specialized care for young people, and not as society's last resort for the vicious; until the public accepts the problem of youthful crime as its own responsibility to be dealt with understandingly, and not written off like a bad debt—until that time, I believe the crime toll of the country will increase and society will continue to play a losing game with itself." (10)

NOTES

(1) Attributing the immense increase in juvenile delinquency in connection with the war to defects in our education, Donald DuShane, of the N.E.A., pointed out that half of the American voters have not completed the eighth grade, and that more than 20,000,000 cannot read a newspaper understandingly. He said, "To solve our after-war problems will require a much better education than we now have". (*Boston Herald*, Nov. 11, 1942)

(2) We are likely to forget that, as George W. Crile reminds us in "Intelligence, Power and Personality" (Whittlesey House, 1941), "fighting, stealing, lying" are "great primitive virtues",—"the means by which man's early existence was made possible. . . . These are facts not fancy. They do not belong to ancient time. They form our world today. Not only does our own so-called 'Christian' civilization demand furs of trapped animals, plumage of birds . . . for our civilized world is rocked by the greed of individualistic civilized man. In some religions such traits are called 'original sin'. . . .

"Let us see how well we can interpret modern-day action patterns. The average child begins as a prototype of his wild ancestor. He is 'a liar and a thief' and an

individualist. He is governed by his phylogeny. . . . When a child has reached ten to twelve years of age, the adrenal glands and the thyroid gland approximate each other in weight. This changed relation in the size of the thyroid and adrenal glands is expressed in the behavior of the child. During this time the child is an energy machine, and, significantly, this period of childhood often points to the fact that the child is 'father of the man'."

(3) "Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier" by Dr. R. D. Gillespie of London (W. W. Norton and Co., 1942), "indicates that the most serious result of the disorganization of children's lives appears in the increase in juvenile delinquency".

"Juvenile Delinquency in the War Period" is the topic treated in the October, 1942, issue of the *Journal of Educational Sociology*. As in most symposia, the authors have written to conform to an attitude and format. It deals with the juvenile court in England and America and with delinquency among whites and negroes and the relation of psychopathic personality to crime.

In the memorandum on "Juvenile Offences", Circular 807624, published by the Home Office and the Board of Education, London, in June, 1941, "we learn that juvenile delinquency in England increased by approximately 41 per cent during the first 12 months of the war, and there are certain indications that delinquency among women is also, though less markedly, on the upgrade. . . . For the latest year for which criminal statistics have been published . . . 15 per cent were adolescents between the ages of 17 and 21, and 36 per cent were boys and girls under 17 years of age." (*Federal Probation*, Oct.-Dec., 1942)

(4) Juvenile court procedure is discussed by Dr. Hermann Mannheim in the *Times Educational Supplement* for Aug. 30, 1941. Quoting a previous *Times* editorial that "the only sure way of substantially checking juvenile delinquency is by improving the environment as a whole", he points out that most of the "criticisms and suggestions so far . . . seem to have as their object the provision of sufficient facilities for institutional treatment in remand homes, approved schools, homes and hostels for difficult evacuees, play centres, clubs, child guidance clinics, and the like. . . . But there has not yet emerged from the discussion anything like a comprehensive and constructive programme of reform." He attracts attention to the practice in the United States "where the tendency to keep children away from the juvenile courts has in recent years become very strong".

(5) Addressing the National Association of Probation Officers (*Times Educational Supplement*, July 5, 1941), Miss J. E. R. Kennedy, a probation officer, stated that "lack of a feeling of security brought in its train nervous disorders and there was a close connexion between unclean habits and stealing. Many types of homes were responsible for delinquent habits, in particular, the broken home." Dr. Leslie G. Housden, unwilling to accept her explanation, said that "child delinquency was a self-inflicted social disease, the remedy for which had not yet been discovered". The discussion brought out that social conditions "made it virtually impossible for very poor parents to train their children properly, however much they desired to do so".

John Vardy, headmaster of an intermediate approved school, in "Their Side of the Story" (The Guardian Press, England), reports his investigation on the home life of 128 young delinquent boys in his school, who evidently suffered from malnutrition on admission. Only 30 of the number answered the question as to how many hot meals they had had a week—only 3 once, 12 twice, 15 three times. In the homes of 48 there were no bathrooms, 37 shared a room with one other person, 38 with two others, 10 with three, and 3 with four other people; 44 shared a bed with one other, 18 with two, and 4 with three others. After consideration of the evidence, Mr. Vardy believes that no honest person can be satisfied by resort to trite demands for "more religious instruction" or "cut juvenile wages" as measures to reduce delinquency.

(6) Sanford Bates, now N. Y. State Parole Commissioner, in the N. Y. *Times* Magazine, Nov. 8, 1942, reports, "Figures for the first nine months of 1942 show a 10 per cent rise in New York City", and admissions of delinquents to reformatories in New York 42 per cent, Massachusetts 60 per cent, Connecticut 66 per cent. "This always happens during wartime." In "England . . . during the first war . . . delinquency among children under 14 increased 41 per cent. . . . The same thing happened during the first World War" which left us "a harvest of crime and delinquency". He recommends increasing rather than decreasing Child Guidance Clinics, boys' clubs, recreation centers.

As "stopgaps . . . to counteract all these influences . . . the National Education Association urged that schools, their gyms, and other play facilities be kept open after hours. The Child Welfare League of America recommended a system of 'welfare aides'—resembling nurses' aides—to supplement overloaded welfare workers." (*Newsweek*, Nov. 9, 1942)

The Boston School Committee, Clement Norton, chairman, is to open "a disciplinary school for girls as partial solution of the city's delinquency problem. . . . In no sense a reform school, the new program will attempt to guide girls in solving their individual problems through expert counseling and specialized training." The curriculum will include, in addition to academic subjects, "a variety of handicrafts, cooking, sewing and a few simple trades". Supt. A. L. Gould asserted that while "much of the girl trouble originated in 'uniform-chasing'", it was not "a sex problem". It was "a question of adjustment of girls to the spirit of the world in which they live, a world in which they seek to eliminate a sense of futility by rushing out blindly to make themselves part of the war effort. To their immature minds, association with service men—even pickups—constituted such participation." (*Boston Herald*, Mar. 10, 1943)

(7) "In this country police jurisdictions do not make it a practice to fingerprint or 'book' youthful offenders in the lower age groups. However, 43,000-odd arrests were youths of 15 to 18 years of age. . . . Too many young people still associate crime and the Robin Hood type of criminal, despite all efforts to the contrary. The Secret Service recognizes the desire of the young for active participation in today's scheme of things." (Henry P. Klepp, Agent, United States Secret Service, "Crime Prevention in War Time", *Health and Physical Education*, 1942)

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, reported (N. Y. *Times*, Mar. 21, 1943) arrests of girls under 21 increased 55.7% over 1941. Arrests for prostitution increased 64.8%; for other sex offenses, 104.7%; for vagrancy, 124.3%; for disorderly conduct, 69.6%; and for drunkenness, 38.9%.

Another war horror, an inevitable effect in which we have overtaken and surpassed England's record, is in the spread of venereal disease. The rate of infections in the Army in 1942 was 37.8% per thousand higher than in 1939.

"Nonprofessional pickups between 15 and 19 accounted for three out of four infections". "These kids outnumber the streetwalkers four to one". In Norfolk probably 85% to 90% of the prostitutes are amateurs. The *British Medical Journal* reveals that "four-fifths of all venereal infections are from amateurs. . . . The *Medical Journal of Australia* cites an even higher percentage (85%) for amateurs." (*Time*, March 29, 1943)

(8) "Prisons and schools are the two organized agencies for education." Dr. Miriam Van Waters recognized this at the women's prison at Sherborn, Massachusetts, where she "has converted the reformatory from a place of punishment into one in which horizons are broadened". Dr. Van Waters asserts, "We have found that a change in attitude can best be brought about by stressing the importance of new ideas and turning them into an adventure. . . . That is the marvelous part of a job such as mine—taking beaten, crushed people and opening for them a new vision of order, harmony, charm, truth, beauty and intensity." (*Boston Herald*, Oct. 5, 1941)

(9) Ernest W. Burgess in "Environment and Education" (University of Chicago, 1942) reminds us, "Nearly thirty years ago, when writing a dissertation on the ambitious subject of The Function of Socialization in Social Evolution, I wrestled with the meaning of the term 'socialization'. Finally a definition emerged: 'The socialization of the person consists in his all-round participation in the thinking, the feeling, and the activities of the group.' . . .

"Delinquency may be taken as an index of the failure of socialization. . . . Delinquency, like nearly all human behavior, is a product of group and community life. As the studies by Thrasher, Landesco, Shaw, Shulman, and others have shown, delinquency is learned behavior; it is communicated in the boys' gang and transmitted through a criminal tradition prevalent in certain urban neighborhoods. These are the so-called 'slums', the 'blighted areas', segregated and isolated from the life of the larger community. . . . Delinquents are now treated by incorporation into the community instead of being incarcerated in institutions—humorously termed 'reformatory', though over 80 per cent of their graduates revert to crime."

(10) "New Horizons in Criminology: The American Crime Problem" (Prentice-Hall, 1943), by Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, is the result of long continued research by these two sociologists. To the subject of crime, traditional, political, big business, they bring biological and psychiatric interpretations, believing that to treat of crime today as in 1900 would be like writing on transportation and ignoring the automotive engine. "Factors Favorable to Criminality", Part II, is especially relevant to this chapter.

HAS EDUCATION IMPROVED OUR INTELLECT?

With something like fifty per cent of our drafted men rejected because of physical defects, we have little cause for elation over what we have done for the physical development and health of this generation. With all our resources and opportunities, few would deny that we have produced a poorer crop of cannon fodder than the Czechs or the Germans with their lesser resources.

Nor has the religious side of education proved entirely satisfactory to those most concerned. President Conant at a Senate hearing, Feb. 10, 1941, dilated on the difficulty of arousing youth for this war for religion. And there have been complaints, too, about the moral irresponsibility of youth. Our education has been unsatisfactory from that point of view to many like MacLeish.

But our formal education in school and college has been more concerned, it will be asserted, with mental training and intellectual development. The draft in the first World War revealed the failure of formal schooling. Though we had spent on education as high as three billion a year, or 3% of the national income, one in ten of our population was illiterate, and the average draftee had an intellectual age of twelve. It was brought to national consciousness that only \$6 a year had been spent on the Negro child in Mississippi, contrasted with \$130 for the white child in the wealthier Northern cities. (1)

This led to a demand, partially supplied, for federal aid to the backward states. And since the last war the nation has spent between forty and fifty billions on formal schooling in an effort to wipe out illiteracy.

The 1930 census reported the nation's illiteracy rate as 4.3%. This was based on response to the question "Can you read and write?" When some of these men who answered "Yes" were taken into the Army, it was learned that they could not. So in the 1940 census the question was "How many grades of school did you complete?"

A little later as the Army began to test the men drafted, they found that one in seven adult Americans was "functionally illiterate". They had not had five years of elementary schooling. Modern industry and the modern army require something more than ability to scrawl one's name.

"The United States Army has lost the services of at least 15 divisions due to functional illiteracy" (*Chr Sci Monitor*, Aug. 15, 1942).

The 1940 federal census showed that 60% of American citizens twenty-five years old or over have had only common school education or less, 14% only four years of elementary schooling or less, and 4% no formal schooling. Of our foreign born white over 28%, and of our Negro population over 41%, have had less than five years of elementary schooling. But 30% of our population have had one or more years of high school training, and 10% one or more years of college, which brings the average up, so that the typical American citizen twenty-five years old or over has had the equivalent of eight years of school. But that puts too good a face on the situation. Of our negroes, who constitute 13.5% of the total population, over 41% have less than five years of elementary schooling which means that they are practically illiterate.(2)

Moreover the number of school days in the school year is limited. In the states where the percentage of attendance is smallest, the school year is shortest and the standards of teaching and salaries lowest. So the contrast in the amount of formal schooling in the different states is even greater than shown by the mere attendance figures.(3)

The larger part of education supplied by the schools has been the memorizing of material from the printed page. Pulpit and lyceum supplemented the printed page as a source of information and inspiration for our fathers and grandfathers, outside their limited personal contacts.

Radio and movie today bring enlarged horizons and broadened experience to our populace. For the people as a whole, what they get over the radio and in the movies today exerts an increasing influence in providing mental content, in 'improving our intellect'. To millions, print enables them to read 'headlines' and billboards.

The comics are one of the most potent influences in the education of children today vying with radio and movies. In a recent survey of grade school pupils 35% had read nothing but comics and the average was 35 comic magazines per pupil, this over and above the strips published in every newspaper. One hundred twenty-five different comic magazines sell on over 100,000 newsstands, approximately 15,000,000 copies a month or 180,000,000 magazines a year. Another survey made in 1940 showed that 27% of the readers were 12 years old, 18% under 10. The leaders of these comic magazines, publishers of 'Superman', report an annual profit of \$1,500,000. Publishers and those behind them see in the

comics a way of propagandizing and inculcating children with hates and prejudiced attitudes. A boy, trained on the comics from 10 to 16, in hate and hero worship, to look for miracles and to avoid effort as unimportant, will be ready to greet, when he appears, the Huey Long type of dictator. (4)

"Hollywood Handles Dynamite", writes Frederic Sondern, Jr., dealing with the "powers of suggestion" of the movies. More people see movies than attend formal educational institutions. "Every week approximately eighty-five million Americans go to the movies. Fifty million of them are under thirty and represent the most impressionable section of our population. Hollywood's pictures shape these malleable minds as can no newspaper, magazine or book. . . . The power of Hollywood's movies to mold the nation's thinking, and how to direct that power, has become a major worry to the various agencies of the federal government." (5)

"The Long Arm of Hollywood" estimates the far-reaching influence of the films. 90% of those shown in our country and 65% of the world's, are produced in Hollywood. The concluding chapters of "Hollywood: The Movie Colony, The Movie Makers" (Harcourt, Brace, 1941) give the results of a three-year investigation by Leo Rosten and a staff of social scientists, under grants from the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations. Rosten quotes Mortimer Adler,—the movies are "more than any other art the social and political problem of our day".

But "Radio Is Dynamite". "People can be bombed with words as well as with high explosives." And more people listen to the radio than go to the movies, Elizabeth Goudy tells us. (6) "Americans listen a total of 126 million hours per week . . . through 60 million sets" from "924 radio stations". In addition "eight hundred international short-wave stations throughout the world broadcast to the world. . . . Every five days England broadcasts to her Empire—and to anyone who will listen—as many words as there are in the Bible. . . .

"Radio affects the minds and hearts of all who listen. In totalitarian states, people gather obediently around their radios. . . . Radio is doing their thinking for them; it does not help them to think for themselves. . . . Why has all this come about? Because men and nations know and believe in the power of the spoken word. Radio has made it possible for men to partake in and benefit from the accumulated information and experiences of the ages. And yet, today radio is also being used to destroy human achievement."

Advances in technology have made all this possible, so that those who control the means of communication can make their emotional appeals to the hundreds of millions even to the far ends of the earth. Technology made this possible,—but education, its lack or misuse, left the void, the vacant mind.

To find out what was wrong with our education, an enormous amount of money has been appropriated by the great foundations, and staffs of university trained educators have applied their mentality for a total of countless hours. Every little while some educational group gets a few hundred thousand for some such run around.

One of these investigating committees, whose report is briefer, more concrete and definite than usual, found that our schooling did not develop interest, curiosity, taste, or responsibility. The adolescent is not given and does not acquire habits of work. The committee discovered that teaching today is largely "devoted to policing learners and making sure one day that they have read and analyzed minutely the assignments given them the day before". (7)

Another inquiry, carried on by a commission which included seven college presidents, four deans of education, and a score of specialists, after investigation condemned the school course and as a remedy recommended two more years of the same thing. (8)

Pennsylvania is above the average of the states in educational rank and expenditure. Over a period of years the Carnegie Foundation has used Pennsylvania high schools and colleges as guinea pigs, at an expenditure of thousands of dollars and intensive survey, inquiry and auditing. (9) Results showed startlingly enough that some students knew more before they had gone to high school and more before they had been subjected to the four years of college. (10)

"Are teachers taking credit—and blame—for phenomena over which they have little or no control?" asks Charles A. Drake, Director of the Bureau of Education Research, West Virginia University, comparing the results of the Carnegie study with those of his own extended experiments.

"We may suspect that these measured gains reflect some underlying or innate growth factor" or that "the underlying function may take the form of known growth curves" which "reach their maxima at different ages for different individuals, marking the points at which such growth stops.

"If measured gains are due to some innate growth factor, a factor apparently not significantly related either to scholarship or to intelligence as

these are usually measured, the individuals and the institutions they attend are not to be praised or blamed for such gains. Neither can individual instructors be compared with each other in teaching efficiency on the basis of the gains shown by their students. . . .

"Perhaps we are wasting both time and money in misguided attempts at instruction. Perhaps we are dispensing both praise and blame where they are undeserved. Perhaps we are dealing with a fact of human nature which we can only control through human adaptation, as we now control the weather."

More doubt on the adequacy of teaching efficiency comes from England. Among the children of families who have limited opportunities, which in England means poverty, there is a higher degree of alertness and awareness than among those who have to take less effort because they have more money. That sounds reasonable. We are all familiar with the alertness of the gamin, the gutter rat. It is only the alert that survive under adverse conditions.

Two English investigators, J. L. Gray and Pearl Moshinsky, have shown that among those pupils who did not pay fees there were "between four and five times as many gifted children" as in the group of pupils paying fees. "It will not fail to be observed that in the single case of children whose educational future is limited to the central school there are many more superior individuals than in the entire group of fee-paying pupils. Yet practically none of these has the opportunity of entry into the professions and the higher ranks of the business world enjoyed by those who have attended fee-paying schools." (11)

One might conclude that some individuals are immune to some kinds of knowledge and especially at particular times, just as we well know that some individuals are immune to infection and that an antitoxin or a vaccine does not always "take". Immunity has to do with the physiological condition, the chemical or physical state of some cells of some organ.

In all living tissue there is constant molecular, intermolecular, atomic, interatomic activity and changing relations between complicated structures. In this there is individuality. The effect at a particular time is not necessarily the same at another time. The neuro-histologist is familiar with the way in which some nerve cells selectively absorb the Golgi or the methylene blue stain and so stand out from their fellows that are immune to the stain. Analogously, the bright student who absorbs a bit of knowledge meaningless to the others stands out in the class. In the

case of the single neuron the chemical reaction is due to the physiological state of that cell at the time. A somewhat similar explanation may apply to the student who absorbs what the others do not get. Even blotting paper if greasy won't take up ink. (Cf p 316)

All men are not created equal nor is any man the equal of what he was at any past time. Both body and mind vary in sensitivity, not only individually but under changed conditions.

The varying susceptibility of different individuals and different minds to interest in particular subjects is the most common of phenomena. Little enough has been done to trace the development of interests. Often well-intentioned attempts to interest a child in a subject produces a revulsion and causes him to develop an interest in something diametrically different.

"Eugenics does not know how to breed geniuses; neither can we build them by education nor can we organize their influence if one arrives. On the other hand we have learned how to build societies such that they will prove very bad environment for the 'breaker of new ways' and offer no place for his work," declares Von Mises in "National Economy—Theory of Human Activity and Economics" (Geneva, 1941, translation by Stephen Fay, in a letter, Oct. 8, 1942).

But if we know what is a bad environment for them, then we may be able to avoid it and prepare something better. In a child musician like Mozart or Yehudi Menuhin the accomplishment seems miraculous. But both from their earliest years heard good music and were conditioned to musical audition. Other children under the same conditions would not have reacted in the same way. That was a matter not much more complicated than the absorption of the methylene blue stain by some nerve cells, a matter of physiology, biochemistry.

Genius has been well defined by Goethe as the capacity for taking infinite pains. That is only part of it. That capacity must be recognized and appreciated as superiority of accomplishment in something that is valued at that particular time. For as Lange-Eichbaum's marvelous investigation of "The Problem of Genius" has shown, the genius is only a genius when he has an audience, when he is appreciated. Shakespeare was looked upon by his contemporaries as a genius. The moods of the 18th century were foreign to his and he was forgotten. It was not until toward the end of the 19th century, after his works had been translated by the greatest poets and dramatists of Germany,—Wieland, Schiller, Goethe,—that he was again recognized as a genius in England. And though the name of

Shakespeare is on English-speaking tongues, his plays have for a century been produced many more times in German than in English. Of this the Shakespeare Yearbook long published in Germany gives concrete and specific evidence. (12)

There is nothing mysterious, then, about genius. It has yielded to careful scientific inquiry where it has been made. But little enough has been done along that line. There is no need, then, to lie down before the problem of the difference in the capacity of the individual to learn any particular subject at a particular time. If the exposure to some form of knowledge doesn't take, some other knowledge possibly under other conditions or at another time may bring a different reaction.

It may be possible to inoculate the student whom we consider stupid with something that will raise his temperature and produce a fever of activity. It may be possible to interest him in some other variety of phenomena than those to which his attention has been attracted, which will inspire him to take more pains, if not 'infinite pains'. (13)

All this makes the former methods of selecting students for college opportunities look ridiculous. Since 1900 there have been hundreds of specific requirements for admission, at the time considered essential but now abandoned as absurd. Even 'college entrance boards' are now almost a thing of the past.

But it was pressure from without that brought the colleges to make these changes. They were always sure of themselves at the time. Reshaping always comes from outside pressure. Internal pressure tends to blow anything up to a perfect sphere. It makes some humans become paunchy and pompous.

William James pointed out that no priesthood ever originates its own reform. Don't accept the estimate of the medical craft at any past time as to their value or the necessity for bleeding or purging. (14) Don't expect lawyers to simplify the law. They have to complicate laws in order to make fees. It's lawyers who draft our laws and as legislators pass them. As judges they decide what they mean and how they are to be applied. Chief Justice Hughes once remarked that the law is what the court says it is. Once every free born Englishman knew the law. Today the lawyers have us in their complete control. (15)

Few accept at par the bumptious claims of the school master. 'Character building', 'building men', 'forming womanhood', 'establishing ethical ideals', 'moral responsibility',—such are some of their teaching

aims. (16) Personalities like William James, or Edward Sylvester Morse, or Charles Eliot Norton, or Nathaniel Shaler, and a score of others helped to make me less of a nincompoop. But that wasn't because of any 'aim' on their part. I 'caught' something from them.

We educators have too long taken pride and credit for what our culture and their environment have done to our pupils. True, we were part of that environment, but in our ignorance we charlatan educators claim as due to us and to our effort much of which we complacently lack knowledge and over which we impotently have no control.

NOTES

(1) The President's Advisory Committee on Education in 1938 reported that "more than 8,000,000 children in this country, between the ages of seven and thirteen . . . were not attending school; that 2,500,000 suffered under mental, physical and other handicaps; that 3,000,000 of the American people were sheer illiterates and hosts of others were near illiterates; that 36,000,000 people in the United States had not finished the elementary school; and that 45,000,000 American people . . . did not have access to free public libraries."

(2) These census figures on school attendance are summarized and tabulated on a page in the Oct., 1942, issue of the *Journal of the N.E.A.* Of the states, the highest percentage for less than five years of schooling are Louisiana 35.7%, South Carolina 34.7%, while the lowest percentage in that class is Iowa with 4.1%, followed by Idaho and Oregon with 5.2%. New Hampshire has 8.1%, as does California. Massachusetts has 10.1%, and New York 12.1%.

"Geographically the Pacific Coast rides the crest with 9.7 years of school per person; the East South Central States hit bottom at 7.5. The urban 8.7-year average is exactly a year larger than the rural figure. Women have slightly more schooling (8.5 years) than men (8.3), but 5.4 per cent of the men have graduated from college as against 3.3 per cent of the women." Of our larger cities, Los Angeles rates highest in the number of school years completed by the average citizen (10.7), then follow Washington (10.3), San Francisco (9.6), Boston (8.9). Chicago rates 8.5, New York 8.3, Baltimore 7.9. (*Newsweek*, Oct. 12, 1942)

(3) "The Michigan school-child attends on an average 171 days in the year, the Mississippi child 98. Corresponding variations in salary range from the Georgia average of \$546 to the California average of \$2,337 (these comparative figures were compiled in 1936). But poverty is not the only explanation of the weaknesses of the American school system. Wealthy cities in Ohio have professed themselves unable to find the money to keep their schools open. In Chicago, teachers' salaries were many months in arrears, and offices doing a profitable, if risky business in discounting the School Board's promissory notes, were a conspicuous feature of the second greatest American city while it was celebrating 'a century of progress'." (From Dennis W. Brogan's "U.S.A.: An Outline of the

Country, Its People and Institutions", Oxford University Press, 1941. This Englishman, of penetrating mind, has given us a clear, brief summary of the United States in its various phases. His "France Under the Republic", Harper, 1940, surveys the French Republic with keen admiration and penetrating insight.)

(4) "Educators point out that 'Superman' element encourages daydreaming, convinces children that ordinary procedures are unworthy of consideration as ways of meeting problems, leads them to expect miracles instead of everyday means of solving difficulties. . . . The nightmarish fears being engendered, along with the wishful thinking aroused by the dependence on miracles as the way of escape from all danger, are tragic enough. But even more terrifying is the prospect of a young generation being inculcated with a hate and a color prejudice which will make post-war tolerance and understanding a practical impossibility. We looked with revulsion a few years ago at the primers created for German children, with their grotesque pictures of Jews as half-monsters, and decried the depravity which could place them in the hands of children whose concepts of people and events were just being formed. But those primers have nothing on the comics which today are eagerly devoured by most American schoolchildren, their picture of the Jew as impotent monster not half so terrifying as the ruthless, fanged Oriental or nazi monster in which the comic magazine specializes." Still we find teachers using the comic magazines as an easy way of getting children interested in the printed word and in building vocabulary. 'Superman' is so used in the Lynn, Mass., high schools. ("Comics Are No Longer Comic" by Margaret Frakes, *Christian Century*, Nov. 4, 1942)

(5) Frederic Sondern, Jr., with C. Nelson Schrader, *Commonweal*, Dec. 12, 1941, goes on to say: "Some years ago, the Payne Fund instituted an exhaustive scientific study of the effects of movies on the minds of young people. Twelve outstanding psychologists spent almost two years at it, and did a monumental job. In one test, 4000 high school students were questioned on their ideas of the Germans, the Chinese, the Negro, war, crime and capital punishment. They were then sent to see pictures which dealt with these peoples and problems. It was found that the great majority had swung over to conform with the ideas presented by the pictures. . . .

"In recent years Dr. Gallup's poll-takers, some of the big advertising firms and various educational groups have taken up where the Payne Fund left off. . . . The experts find that, in general, the average spectator believes that the scenes and characters he sees in a movie are actually authentic or typical of possible situations and people. . . .

"Competent authorities in the advertising field lay much of the blame for the public's decreasing confidence in its newspapers—so devastatingly demonstrated in *Fortune's* poll of August, 1939—at Hollywood's door. . . .

" 'The Big Parade' . . . a host of similar powerful films conditioned the country for peace. Hollywood was slow for a long time to change that trend and to attack the dictatorships in any way. European markets were attractive and not to be thrown away for the sake of ideology. . . .

"A sub-committee of the United States Senate recently began investigating the motion-picture industry's influence on the war sentiment of the American people. But the hearings rapidly degenerated . . . slid . . . to the back columns. . . . The pertinent facts of Hollywood's propaganda influence never made print."

(6) In "Radio Is Dynamite!", *Clearing House*, Oct., 1942, Elizabeth Goudy dilates on the "listening illiteracy" of our people,—“The Payne Fund Studies showed that children spend six to seven times as much time listening to the radio as they spend seeing motion pictures. We have recognized the influence of the motion pictures for many years. Boys and girls spend two and one-half hours listening to the radio for every hour they spend in leisure-time reading. . . . Seventy per cent of our families listen regularly to news broadcasts and commentators”, sixty-one per cent of our pupils.

"U. S. Radio Goes to War" is the report of Paul Hollister, Vice President of Columbia Broadcasting System, to the New York Council of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, Nov. 17, 1942. He tells us "This is the first United States war in which radio has played a major part as an offensive arm, as a stabilizer of the morale of the armed forces and the public behind them, and as a defensive arm against the forces of the enemy. . . . Of the 900-odd radio stations in our country not one has failed to assume full patriotic initiative or responsibility." The 900 stations have played their part. The "war matter . . . woven into the basic material . . . on the air . . . ranges from 1% to 100% of the program-material". In six months there were 3013 CBS War Broadcasts, more than half commercially sponsored. In addition 2340 War Announcements and 1640 War News broadcasts were brought into the homes of 31,000,000 radio families. In addition to the network, a single New York station broadcast during the first six months of the war "a total of 3468 single broadcasts containing a total of 4466 War Broadcast topics . . . an average of 19 distinct War Broadcasts per day". The same station "broadcast during the same period 5236 War Announcements, or an average of nearly 29 per day". NBC, Blue and Mutual Networks have broadcast nearly as much. In 1775, to arouse the Americans to war, it took on the part of Paul Revere only "a cry of defiance and not of fear, a voice in the darkness, a knock at the door". Today "in the hour of darkness and peril and need", it's the broadcasts we hear.

Robert J. Landry, radio editor of *Variety*, Sept. 17, 1942, in an address emphasized the importance of radio in democracy's future. "Should we be unfortunate in this war, should it last too long and cost too much and produce too little we may predict a mood of despair and disgust with a witch hunt psychology just under the surface. . . . There will be clever ruthless men ready to organize an American fascistic party probably calling itself the back-to-democracy movement. These clever ruthless men will fully realize that they can succeed only if they control radio. . . . It seems absolutely imperative that intellectuals and liberals recognize the menace to the nation and to themselves. . . . Radio will help protect and preserve democracy if and only if democracy will help protect and preserve the radio."

(7) The Committee on Implementation of Studies in Secondary Education, as

reported in the *Journal of the N.E.A.*, Nov., 1940, in January, 1940, suggested that the American Youth Commission should organize a brief report on the needed changes in the curriculum. Previous recommendations had "had little effect upon the schools" because of disagreement over details. The Commission appointed a committee with a preponderance of Teachers College professors. The members of such committees constitute a sort of perpetually rotating interlocking directorship whose cogs in turn mesh with those of the great educational, philanthropic, and financial foundations.

The report discovered that there were many pupils in high schools for whom the courses were not appropriate, that many had reading abilities of the fourth grade level. They needed practice in reading and interpretation, in the use of reference books, and in the development of a critical attitude toward what they read.

(8) The New York State Regents' Inquiry reported the schools superior, well equipped, the curriculum behind the times, poorly adapted to the needs, civic problems ignored, health looked upon merely as a subject to be studied, but the product unsatisfactory. To correct the situation they recommended two more years of high school,—more of the same thing that they had condemned. (cf Luther Gulick, *Atlantic*, Apr., 1939)

Proposals for improvement or changes in the curriculum that don't make any essential modification have been the fad for two decades. "Nearly fifty thousand 'curricula'" are on file in one institution. "Curriculum construction and reconstruction", "curriculum laboratories", "curriculum journals", "curriculum societies and associations", hundreds of monographs, thousands of papers are evidence of discontented floundering. (Edgar Knight, *School and Society*, Nov. 23, 1940)

(9) Mort and Cornell as the result of a three year statistical study of the 36 school districts of Pennsylvania revealed that of the 183 educational improvements which have been established as 'good' since "in 1898 John Dewey gave his lectures on school and society", few had been adopted by half the districts, and generally adopted in only 30% of the districts. 19% of the districts had adopted only one-fourth. (Paul R. Mort and Francis G. Cornell, "American Schools in Transition: How Our Schools Adapt Their Practices to Changing Needs: A Study of Pennsylvania", Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1941)

(10) In the Pennsylvania Study of the Carnegie Foundation, 1938, "The Student and His Knowledge", Bulletin Number Twenty-Nine, "it is reported that students showed measured gains as great or greater in some subject-matters not part of their curricula as they showed in the subject-matters upon which they were ostensibly concentrating".

Charles A. Drake, Director of the Bureau of Education Research, West Virginia University, in "The Higher Education: Controlled or Uncontrolled", *Scientific Monthly*, April, 1941, finds that the disturbing facts revealed by the Pennsylvania Study are confirmed by his own repeated experiments on hundreds of students over a period of years. From his "figures, the measured gains were significantly related neither to grades as awarded nor to intelligence as measured. . . . We have always awarded grades with the tacit assumption that they reflected achievement, attain-

ment, growth, mastery or gain—partially if not wholly. It is apparent that this assumption is quite unjustified in the situation studied. . . . It is a fair inference that higher intelligence implies an associated ability to make greater subject-matter gains” but the results are sometimes to the contrary. Some other than the conventional explanation must be found.

(11) J. L. Gray and Pearl Moshinsky report their investigations on “Ability and Opportunity in English Education” in the *Sociological Review*, April, 1935. “On the highest criterion of ability 45 per cent and on the lowest 59 per cent of the total number of gifted children in the school population do not enjoy the opportunity of a higher education. None of these belong to the group whose parents are able and willing to pay fees for their children’s education. The entire mass of unutilized talent consists of children for whose education the requisite financial provision from public funds is not available. . . .

“At a very high level of ability, represented by the attainment of the uppermost one per thousand in the general school population, two-thirds of the total originate in elementary schools, of whom 70 per cent are of wage earning parentage. Of the entire group of such exceptional individuals, 50 per cent are the children of wage-earners, and 33 per cent of members of the higher social and professional classes.”

In “Ability and Educational Opportunity in Relation to Parental Occupation”, the same writers in the July, 1935, issue continue: “In spite of the higher average ability of children of the professional classes, their numerical contribution to the total of able children is relatively small. It may be that environmental as well as genetic agencies affect performance on intelligence tests. If we wish to increase the proportion of individuals of high ability, it would seem to follow that there would be a greater return to our efforts from measures taken to improve the environment of manual workers than from attempts to increase the birth rate among the professional classes. . . .

“Manual Workers contribute one-half of all children attaining the level of ability represented by the achievement of the top 50 per cent of Fee-paying pupils, while children of Larger Business Owners and Professional workers together contribute less than 10 per cent.”

(12) The Greeks ranked genius with divinity, we moderns with insanity. Lange-Eichbaum (“The Problem of Genius”, Macmillan, 1932) tells us genius is not, as commonly supposed, “a mysterious form of hereditary equipment provided once for all at birth”, but “the individual is only the bearer, the sustainer of genius. . . . He is usually talented but not necessarily so, and becomes famous through a fortunate concatenation of circumstances . . . some one who has ‘put it across’, nothing more”.

So “full many” a genius is “born to blush unseen”, without “fortunate concatenation of circumstances”. Mendel was such. He lived and died unknown, the value of his work, which stamped him a genius, to be discovered thirty years later.

(13) Edward Sylvester Morse, whose monument will be found in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, as the young son of a severe Puritan minister ran away or

was expelled from every school he went to and never had the equivalent of high school. A box on the ear caused him to leave Bethel Academy. He loafed along the docks of Portland where sailors brought shells from foreign shores. His collection of shells grew. He "found, on September 28, 1856, an earth-colored land snail, one thirty-second of an inch in length. A smaller, less conspicuous object never determined the whole future course of a man's life." The Boston Society of Natural History found it to be a new species. Morse's eye was fixed for snails. He drove his hand to draw their lines with accuracy. Three years later he was assistant to Agassiz. In the early '70's he was a professor at the Imperial University of Japan. Later, American and European universities bestowed upon him honorary degrees. (Dorothy G. Wayman, "Edward Sylvester Morse: A Biography", Harvard University Press, 1942)

(14) Thurman Arnold in "The Symbols of Government" (Yale University Press, 1935), tells how the faculty at the University of Paris in Louis XIV's time constituted the "holy of holies", maintaining the medical mysteries. The barber surgeons' "approach and ideas were upsetting to the logical structure approved by the University of Paris and adopted by all right-thinking doctors".

Had Louis XIV, to cure his boil, not patronized the despised barber surgeon, medicine might still be in the same state as government, our physical selves as badly off as our economic selves. (Cf Handbook of Private Schools, 20th ed., 1936, pp 115-6)

When an increasing number of the nobility began to follow the king's example, the physicians held a protest parade. Arnold quotes the incident from Victor Robinson's "The Story of Medicine", 1931,—"The story of the Paris Faculty, arrayed in wrath and their red robes, brandishing a skeleton and parading the streets in protest, defied by the surgeons and teased by the mob without any cringing at the sight of their actions, the dignity of the doctors finally disappearing in a snowstorm which seemed made to order, constitutes a surgical melodrama."

(15) "In tribal times, there were the medicine-men. In the Middle Ages, there were the priests. Today there are the lawyers. . . . We cannot get married or try to get divorced, we cannot die and leave our property to our children without calling on the lawyers to guide us. To guide us, incidentally, through a maze of confusing gestures and formalities that lawyers have created." (Fred Rodell, Professor of Law, Yale, in "Woe Unto You, Lawyers!", Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939)

"It probably would have surprised the early Englishman if he had been told that either he or anybody else did not know the law—still more that there was ever any need for any parliament or assembly to tell him what it was. They all knew the law, and they all knew that they knew the law, and the law was a thing that they knew as naturally as they knew fishing and hunting. They had grown up into it. It never occurred to them as an outside thing. . . ."

"It was five hundred years before the notion crept into the minds, even of the members of the British Parliaments, that they could make a new law. What they supposed they did, and what they were understood by the people to do, was merely to declare the law, as it was then and as it had been from time immemorial; the

notion always being—and the farther back you go and the more simple the people are, the more they have that notion—that their free laws and customs were something which came from the beginning of the world, which they always held, which were immutable, no more to be changed than the forces of nature; and that no Parliament, under the free Anglo-Saxon government or later under the Norman kings who tried to make them unfree, no king could ever make a law but could only declare what the law was." (Adapted from Frederic J. Stimson, "Popular Law-Making", Scribner's, 1912, in Robert E. Park's and Ernest W. Burgess', "Introduction to the Science of Sociology", University of Chicago Press, 1921)

(16) In "The New Immoralities" we wrote on "Immoral School Teachings" under such titles as "Making and Breaking Rules", "Practice Does Not Make Perfect", "Superficiality an Academic Bogey", "You Can't Be Accurate", "Thoroughness an Academic Fetish". It's immoral to persistently frustrate a child, to make him a psychopath. But we still do it.

In the Handbook of Private Schools in 1933 we wrote on "The Crimes of Teachers", pointing out that the greatest crime was the repression, stultification and frustration of children. "Our teachers still maximate their own ego rather than the child's. The teacher gets the kick and the thrill out of discovering rather than letting the pupil get the thrill out of discovering for himself. It is more fun to tell than to watch the other fellow exploring. But unless we allow our children to derive satisfaction from things that are worth while they will find satisfaction in things of another kind."

Arnold J. Toynbee comments on the "dastardly crime" that has resulted from what has come to be called 'education for consent'. In his "Study of History", Vol. III, pp 241-2, he finds "the great mass of the Western body social . . . substantially on the same intellectual and moral level on which it lay—a century ago, or a century and a half—before the titanic new social forces began to emerge. The measure of this intellectual and moral retardation or stagnation or degradation of the mass is given with remorseless accuracy by the character of 'the Yellow Press'. In the latter-day perversion of our Western Press, we see the 'drive' of Western Industrialism and Democracy being employed to keep the mass of Western Humanity culturally depressed at, or perhaps even below, its pre-industrial and pre-democratic spiritual level: and the same new 'drive' has been put . . . into the old institutions of War and Tribalism and Slavery and Property . . . an act of betrayal that has prostituted the new-won powers and the new-made apparatus of this handful of pioneers to the anti-social function of debauching the rest of Society. . . . This betrayal is a dastardly crime. . . . This stagnation of the masses is the fundamental cause of the crisis with which our Western Civilization is confronted in our day."

FAILURE OF THE INTELLECT IN WARTIME

The failure of our education in the last war was demonstrated in the years following 1917 in our great universities. It was there that the highly skilled and cultured British propagandists first established the attitude which they wished to have disseminated throughout the populace.

Sir Gilbert Parker, the famous novelist who directed the work in this country from 1914 to 1917, writing about his work in *Harpers*, March, 1918, which has since been regarded as a bit boastful, said, "We established association by personal correspondence with influential and eminent people of every profession in the United States, beginning with university and college presidents, professors and scientific men and running through all the ranges of population".

The importance of securing the good will of university and college people first is that they promulgate with an air of authority not only to their students, but as lecturers in clubs and forums, the desired doctrine.

By February, 1916, Parker "was able to report that the articulate people throughout the United States had joined the Allies. . . . Educators can be controlled simply through controlling their reading matter."

Einstein has explained, "Experience proves that it is rather the so-called 'Intelligentsia' that is most apt to yield to these disastrous collective suggestions, since the intellectual has no direct contact with life in the raw but encounters it in its easiest synthetic form, the printed page".

H. G. Wells, dilating on the part played by the universities, remarked, "This higher brain, this cerebrum, this gray matter of America was so entirely uncoordinated that it had nothing really comprehensive, searching, thought out, and trustworthy . . . to go upon." And of Wilson's experts at the Versailles Conference, "They had no common understanding whatever. . . . They are so unaccustomed to competent thought, so ignorant that there is knowledge and of what knowledge is, that they do not understand that it matters." (1)

At the outbreak of the war Theodore Roosevelt, who had been an intimate friend of the Kaiser's, was all for neutrality, as was Wilson, who enjoined neutrality in "word and thought".

Two of the famous men at Harvard, most ardent for the first World

War, were the beloved and erudite Josiah Royce, and Roscoe Thayer, the historian of modern Italy. Royce had long devoted himself to the study of the cause of war and the hope of preserving peace.(2) Thayer, too, was at first all for neutrality.

Mark Antony De Wolfe Howe in "A Venture in Remembrance" (Little, Brown, 1941), makes the early position of Thayer clear. Thayer had long been editor of the *Harvard Graduates Magazine*. In 1914 Howe was editor of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*. He received a letter from Thayer to be used anonymously therein. Howe writes, "I forged into an editorial for a September 19 issue of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, the first after the outbreak of the European war, a portion of a letter from William Roscoe Thayer, after getting his consent to use it editorially rather than as correspondence. In view of the fact that Thayer was soon to become one of the least neutral of Americans, his words, like the later declaration of Theodore Roosevelt that the invasion of Belgium was no concern of ours, provide a striking reminder that the stresses of wartime play havoc with the consistencies of men.

"The essence of the matter was Thayer's plea that Harvard should become a great oasis of neutrality through the conflict that lay ahead. The details of the episode are related in the memoir of Thayer which, in response to my own invitation as editor of 'Later Years of the Saturday Club', I contributed to that volume. It is as true with writing men, excited whether in 1914 or in 1941 by the issues of a world war, as it is with the fighting men of whom Shakespeare wrote:—

" 'We may as bootless spend our vain command
Upon the enraged soldiers in their spoil
As send precepts to the leviathan
To come ashore.'

"As editor of the *Bulletin* in wartime I had my own lessons to learn, and learned one of them somewhat painfully."

Thayer's portion of the editorial read: "Yet it cannot be superfluous to suggest that Harvard should be kept free from unseemly propaganda in behalf of any of the belligerents in the present war. The University enrolment includes members of every one of the nations involved, and its obvious part is to observe the strict neutrality which President Wilson has urged upon all Americans. Open meetings in behalf of one side or the other would involve many difficulties. While actual war, in which millions of men are engaged, is in progress, there can be no dispassionate

discussion here. Even the 'language clubs'—the Cercle Francais, the Deutscher Verein, and the rest—will surely do well to refrain from demonstrations. Harvard is a great centre of neutrality, an oasis of peace and concord, to which the sons of twenty different races and countries repair. Here they should both find and practise their mutual toleration and good-will for lack of which Europe has been turned into a slaughter-house at which the world stands aghast." (Quoted by Howe in "Later Years of the Saturday Club, 1870-1920", Houghton Mifflin, 1927, p 396)

Three years later Roscoe Thayer in his "Germany vs. Civilization", 1917, declared, "This war springs as naturally from the German heart and will as a vulture springs from its nest". The change had been quick and violent in Thayer and Royce, and Harvard alumni and faculty followed. Lord Bryce, in whose integrity we had the utmost confidence, had certified to the genuineness of the affidavits of Belgian refugees that the Germans had cut off the breasts of women and the hands of little children. There breathed scarce a man with soul so dead that he did not rise in indignation to destroy the Hun who perpetrated these awful deeds.

In this second World War academic history seemingly repeats itself. Again Harvard has taken the lead, and other universities and colleges have followed, first the presidents, who gradually won over their faculties. The undergraduates lagged behind for a time. But all that was changed when our country was attacked. That brought everyone up, standing for defense.

Again American education and educators "have been caught totally unprepared for this national-defense effort. The dominant values in the past were those of peace". Teachers who for two decades have been telling youth that "war was horrible and futile . . . that in the first World War the American people had been duped and betrayed by 'propaganda'" have now "publicly recanted", while the young have "clung tenaciously to their convictions".

Charles J. Glicksberg in *School and Society*, June 7, 1941, refers to a plea made by Professor Jesse H. Newlon of Teachers College in the N. Y. *Times*, July 11, 1940, that during the saner days of peace "the teaching profession had been unpardonably muddled. . . . Inexcusable was the belief they propagated that wars do not settle anything, that munitions-makers are the direct if hidden instigators of war. . . . The educational furore about the bad wolf of propaganda had tended to confuse the minds of people so that nowadays youth does not know what or whom to be-

lieve. The result has been that the younger generation has grown up directionless, without faith" in war mongers and munition makers. Now, Professor Newlon pleads, teachers must "turn their backs on the past . . . teach the essential meaning of democracy and endeavor to inculcate the virtues of reverence and loyalty".

Today the American people believe that it is horrendous events that have brought the people into war, not propaganda, if such it was in the last war, which is at present denied. The American people are convinced of this, and they are aroused and desirous of putting an end to a situation that they regard as intolerable. This is no time to translate or to inquire into how events have been presented to us. It was events that brought us into the last war. (3) We were not "dragged into the World War. We . . . were convinced that it was our duty to fight. . . . We wanted to fight . . . to make the world a better place." (4)

And this is even truer today than it was twenty-four years before. Again the American people are wrought up so that they 'want' to fight. They have willed destruction of their foes. How are wills determined? Schopenhauer has said, "A man can surely do what he wills, but how can he determine what it is he wills?"

"Who communicates what to whom by what medium, under what conditions, and with what effects?" These points are raised by Douglas Waples (*American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1942). Though he avoids giving the answers, saying it is too early, the assumption follows that here is the key to the control of human behavior.

An advertisement of advertising seen in the streetcars reads: "You feel better satisfied when you buy known merchandise and services. That's why it pays you to read these messages." That's why it pays to advertise, because those who read the ads "feel better" when they buy something the name for which is familiar, though they may never have so much as seen the product itself, and know nothing of its quality.

The attitude of university professors influences other intellectuals, the alumni, and the schools that feed the universities. The universities are in a position of authority. Not only are head masters and teachers college trained, but they must be stamped and branded with the essential degrees to win opportunity to teach. Teachers communicate their attitudes to their pupils directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. In so doing they believe they are fulfilling their sacred task of transmitting to the elect of the generation the best of our human heritage, the wisdom of

the past, in preparing them for future leadership. (Cf "What Makes Lives", 1940, p 213)

The academic mind is our concern, the attitude of university leaders in wartime, the part they play in presenting the claims or ideals set forth by one side or the other. Do they remain independent or are they unduly influenced?(5)

"The American Scholar in Three Wars" is investigated and reported on by Merle Curti in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, June, 1942. He finds the scholar is always for 'the conservative', whatever it is. That means that the scholar, the university man, tends to be with those who hold power and are anxious to retain it. Curti considers "the claim that our wars have colored American thought and even forced it into new channels. . . . Only by understanding the role of intellectuals in the years preceding the acute crisis, when the channels of discussion, however clogged, were still open, can we hope to understand the position of these men and women during the actual years of bloodshed."

The "thesis that our major wars have been responsible for heightened intellectual activity" is examined by Curti, "asking how these wars affected the institutions with which organized intellectual life was identified".

In the Civil War, "the vitriolic distortion by both sides of facts regarding the cruelty of the enemy did not, of course, augur well for any rational analysis of affairs. . . . Nathaniel Shaler, the distinguished geologist, has much to say of this in his 'Autobiography'. . . . Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, Richard Hildreth, George Ripley, Charles Sumner . . . Lucretia Mott, pointed out that unless sacrifices were made, in the North and South alike . . . violence must one day decide the issue."

For the first World War, "in the White House a scholar led the crusade. The voices of those who dissented, who urged adherence to the scholarly canons of judicious and reasonable analysis, were unheard amidst the blare of trumpets. . . .

"The story of the contributions of the scholars who gave up historical research to write stirring Red, White, and Blue tracts for George Creel's famous Committee on War Information has been told many times. If in the ardor of patriotism some forgot altogether the canons of scholarship, they no doubt took satisfaction in thinking that the pen might be as mighty as the sword. . . .

"The War must bear its share of the blame for the generally low intel-

lectual tone of the nation in the 1920's. . . . Nor is it relieved by any remarkable flowering of the American mind in the years between Versailles and the great depression of 1929. . . .

"It appears, then, that neither the Revolution, nor the Civil War, nor the World War ushered in periods of great intellectual activity. Neither did they result in any of the most important inventions or scientific discoveries in our annals, nor yet in more than a very few of our greatest pieces of literature. . . . Many scholars . . . laid down their scholarly functions to become propagandists or to apply their scientific skill to the problems at hand. In creating an atmosphere of emotion and hysteria, the wars can hardly be said to have contributed high intellectual values to our history."

"What are the facts of the present situation which should most concern educationalists?" Norman Angell, erstwhile pacifist, asks in the *News Bulletin*, Institute of International Education, New York City, Feb. 1, 1941. And he suggests, "The most learned generation the world has ever known seems to be in a fair way of proving itself the most foolish and cruel, the most destructive of its own happiness. Never before in history have men had at their disposal so much accumulated knowledge, so many records, libraries, books, encyclopaedias, card indices, newspapers, schools, colleges, universities, lectures, lecturers, teachers, professors; never before in history have men possessed such amazing instruments (e. g. the radio) for the exchange of information and ideas. . . . Yet as the result of it all men seem less capable of managing their society than they were twenty-five hundred years ago. . . .

"The governments which drifted to war in 1914 were for the most part made up from the most highly educated classes. The diplomacy which led to that war had been in the hands of highly educated men. . . .

"Nor is that all. If one examines certain of the major errors committed by governments and peoples these last twenty years, one is obliged to confess that a very modest degree of wisdom, demanding no special knowledge, would have sufficed to prevent the commission of those errors."

We "have lost in a few months rights and freedom for which" we "have bled and suffered during unnumbered generations", because we "resolutely refused to apply, in time, truths which" we "tried to apply when too late to be effective".

"It is probably not from Hitler, but from the professors that we shall

ultimately be saved", Mortimer Adler of the University of Chicago late in 1940 told the Conference on Religion, Science and Philosophy. But his president, Hutchins, warning us that we were about to commit national suicide, would attempt to save us.

President MacCracken of Vassar, who is unsatisfied with the explanations of the Administration, just as was little Peterkin with old Caspar's, "Such things as these we know must be to gain a famous victory," asks "How did we get this way?" In "A Personal View", Vassar *Alumnae Magazine*, in 1940, MacCracken continues, "For twenty years we have been assuring ourselves that what went on overseas was none of our business. Most of those who are now shouting loudest for war were in a peace parade a few years ago. . . . Those who believe that it is our war act upon two premises. The first is that Britain's battle is the battle of democracy against its opposing ideologies. The second is that the defense of Britain is an insurance against war reaching our shores. Everything follows from these premises, but I cannot convince myself that either is true, or, if true, that it excludes alternatives." (Cf pp 200 ff)

Aware of the English adage "Experience keeps a dear school but fools will learn in no other", Bismarck shrewdly remarked, "Fools learn in the school of experience; I prefer to learn in some other". Perhaps that led him to desire to maintain friendly relations with England because America speaks English. Bernard Shaw, closer and subtler, later explained that "England and America are two countries separated by the same language". Thus wise men get reflections from different facets of the same jewel.

Our academics have proved susceptible in times of stress. They cannot with Luther sing, "A firm foundation is our Lord". Most of them, men of good will, with feet firmly planted in mid-air, have again lost their bearings and in their moralistic wanderings seek some religious port. In excitement verging on hysteria they change gears and go into reverse. Some seem lacking in the vitamins that bring intellectual courage and are inclined to see the thing, hear the thing, speak the thing that will preserve their immediate security and bring them immediate reward. Later some may feel ashamed of their moral excitement as they did twenty years ago.

Among the many influences that play about these select and elect in our universities, is it possible to discover some that have not been accented, that have produced the degrading effects upon these choice Ameri-

can intellects described by Curti in "The American Scholar in Three Wars", and referred to by Bruce Raup in "Education and Organized Interests in America" (Putnam, 1936), by Howard K. Beale in "Are American Teachers Free?" (Scribner, 1936), and "A History of Freedom of Teaching in American Schools" (Scribner, 1941).

The information that comes to them through propaganda bureaus, whether directed by a Gilbert Parker as a quarter of a century ago, or with improved technique through a Vansittart, or present day 'bureaus', they accept as genuine in allegiance to those who are interested in the control and manipulation of the news. To safeguard their position, prestige, and pension, they may feel obliged to play the game.

It may be worth while to examine and attempt to understand the pressures to which such men are subjected which leads to such distortion. It is useless to get bitter about it, as did Mark Twain who, looking upon his contemporaries subject to the whim and the snap of the whip of the great 'robber barons' of his time, remarked, "You can't tell me anything more about a man than that he is a human being. He couldn't be any worse,"—and after listening to the moralizing of such, advised, "Always do what is right. You will gratify some people and surprise the rest."

"The atrophy of intelligence which is produced by stupid, arbitrary or undemocratic censorship" later impressed Wendell Willkie, who Oct. 26, 1942, in telling of what he had learned in his trip around the world, demanded that this be stopped "by resolute and aggressive action by the people of democratic nations, and especially of the United States".(6)

Amid all the confusions of war, with abstractions crackling in air and semantic inanities cluttering the ground, it is little wonder that learned men lose their bearings. Some are attracted to the bright lights, the things that glitter,—praise, recognition, prestige. Then we are likely to think of them as Browning thought of Wordsworth a century ago,—"Just for a handful of silver he left us, just for a riband to stick in his coat".

What is intellectual integrity? "Patriotism is not enough." Sincerity is not enough. Torquemada was sincere. Moral responsibility is not enough. Our early New England divines were thus imbued in their dreadful persecution of the Quakers. Righteousness is not enough. Did ever a people go forth to war that were not armed with righteousness? Those who are sure they are morally right must look upon others who don't agree with them as immoral, their ways as evil to be put down at

whatever cost. When God is on our side and prospers our work for his ends, which are our ends, we can use any means, as Torquemada did.

"Such men are dangerous", particularly when they have "a lean and hungry look". Their minds are closed to any new evidence. They are not like Stuart Chase who admits that work as he may at attaining the current 'moral' view of the present mess, he has "a leaky mind" into which new bits of information "occasionally penetrate. Then I have the devil's own time chasing them out again."

And yet there are men who can say seriously, "In controversial moments my perception is quite fine; I always see both points of view: the one that's wrong and mine".

NOTES

(1) In *Harper's*, April, 1937, H. G. Wells writes, "I suppose Maynard Keynes was one of the first to open our eyes to this worldwide intellectual insufficiency. What his book, 'The Economic Consequence of Peace' practically said to the world was this,—These people don't know anything about the business they have in hand. Nobody knows very much, but the important thing to realize is that they do not even know what is to be known. They arrange so and so, and so and so must ensue, and they cannot or will not see that so and so must ensue."

A review of the influence of the universities in getting us into the last war will be found in "What Makes Lives", 1940, pp 181-194.

(2) Josiah Royce had put his mind to the task of analyzing the psychological causes of war, and in "The Possibility of International Insurance" (in "The Hope of Great Community", 1916) offered specifics. But "by 1915 . . . Royce, sometime advocate of an insurance system against war, was now convinced that our political ideals and our national safety were bound up with the cause of the Allies". (Merle Curti, "The American Scholar in Three Wars", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, June, 1942)

Cf also Curti's "War or Peace: The American Struggle 1636-1936" (N.Y., 1936); Parke R. Kolbe's "The Colleges in War Time and After" (N. Y. 1919); George Mowry's "The First World War and American Democracy" in "War as a Social Institution: The Historian's Perspective" (Columbia University Press, 1941).

(3) E. L. Bernays, the highest paid propagandist (public relations counsel) in this country, pointed out to the Harvard *Guardian* Midwinter Conference on Propaganda early in 1940 that the most effective propaganda is that "of the deed, not that of the word", and "when events do not serve their purpose they (propagandists) create them. Many of the news events about which we read are deliberately staged by the governments in the interest of propaganda."

(4) This is the view ably expressed by 'Wild Bill' Donovan in the *Forum*, May, 1940. How one man was brought to the conviction that it was his duty to

fight is vividly told by Joseph Smith, who before 1917 was a cowboy on a British Columbia ranch, in his book "Over There and Back" (Dutton, 1917). "Germany was not using the methods of fighting that could be countenanced by a civilized nation. As the nation stood behind its army in all this barbarism, there must be something inherently lacking in it despite its wonderful music, its divine poetry, its record in the sciences. It, too, must be barbarian at heart. We agreed that if it should win this war it would be very uncomfortable to belong to one of the allied nations, or even to live in the world at all, since it was certain German manners and German methods would not improve with victory. And we, as a battalion, were ready to take our places in France to back up our words with deeds."

The Germans "never could understand why Americans, such as myself, who enlisted in a spirit of adventure, and with not a single thought on the justice of the cause, could experience such a marked change of feeling as to regard this conflict as the most holy crusade in which a man could engage. It is a holy crusade! Never in the history of the world was the cause of right more certainly on the side of an army than it is today on the side of the allies: We who have been through the furnace of France know this. I only say what every other American who has been fighting under an alien flag said when our country came in: 'Thank God we have done it. Some boy, Wilson, believe me!'" (quoted by Park and Burgess, "Introduction to the Science of Sociology", University of Chicago Press, 1921, pp 803-5)

(5) Randolph Bourne wrote of this change in the intellectual attitude and outlook of the universities, "To the American academic mind of 1914 defense of war was inconceivable. . . . The English colonials in university and press took command at the start. The reputable opinion of the American intellectuals became more and more either what could be read pleasantly in London, or what was written in an earnest effort to put Englishmen straight on their war-aim and war technique. . . . Numbers of intelligent people who had never been stirred by the horrors of capitalistic peace at home were shaken out of their slumber by the horrors of war in Belgium."

(6) Referring to the President's suggestion that "private citizens . . . should refrain from making suggestions about the conduct of the war—military, industrial, economic or political", Willkie said, "The record of this war to date is not such as to inspire in us any sublime faith in the infallibility of our military and naval experts. Let's have no more of this nonsense. Military experts, as well as our leaders, must be constantly exposed to democracy's greatest driving power—the whip-lash of public opinion, developed from honest, free discussion. Men with great power usually like to live free of criticism. But when they get that way, that's the time to increase the criticism." (*Chr Sci Monitor*, Oct. 27, 1942)

CONTROL — BY WHOM AND FOR WHAT?

The high ideals and exalted objectives on which educators hold forth, we have seen, are seldom attained nor do they have much effect on educational practice. The results produced by our educational machinery, moreover, have not proved wholly satisfactory. Is this futility actual or apparent? Is there no design, no purpose, no direction?

Is it possible, on the other hand, that there is an underlying control which does attain results which are not paraded but which have been determined by those behind the scenes? This does not imply conspiracy. It merely inquires into the ultimate nature of our social control, and we are only beginning to learn a little about that by the comparative study of other societies through the work of anthropologists.⁽¹⁾

Thurman Arnold in his "Symbols of Government" (Yale, 1935), remarks that idealists and reformers "understand too little the manipulation of people. . . . Their constant and futile cry is reiterated through the ages: 'Let us educate the people so that they can understand and appreciate us.' It never occurs to them to stop preaching and to begin observing. . . . They constantly adopt the role of missionaries to the heathen, instead of playing the part of anthropologists in a society so filled with complicated and contradictory taboos as to make the average savage seem comparatively wanting in superstition. When they do recognize a taboo, they condemn it, instead of realizing that of such is the stuff which binds society together and makes it orderly and comfortable in its spirit. And when they find that their reforms do not reform . . . they end with a discouraged skepticism."

One must go to other countries to discover just how the educational process is controlled. In Japan we can readily see that the whole educational system has been used for the last seventy years to emphasize and indoctrinate the cult of the Sun Goddess and the ritual of Shinto. The children have been made a reserve line of defense and the educational machinery used to perpetuate the power of those who hold control. We can see, too, how in Russia, Italy, and Germany the dictators have used the educational machinery to build their own prestige.

At home it is more difficult to detect such control. Some things we see

better at a distance than at close hand. James Marshall, former president of the New York City Board of Education, in *Harpers*, June, 1941, makes clear that he understands our nation as every other must seek to prolong its existence through the control of education of youth. "It is certain that all state-maintained schooling aims at education in the duties of citizenship as well as its privileges, showing how the former are to be performed and the latter realized. Every state seeks to assure its longevity by continuance of its ideals and customs. Propaganda of the political and economic faith of the dominant groups of the state (narrow groups in autocratic states, broader groups as democratization is realized) is the long-term technic to this end."

In "Ends and Means," Aldous Huxley asks, "What does the word 'nation' mean? To what extent are speakers and writers justified in talking of a nation as a person? In what sense can a nation be described as having a will, or national interests? . . . Nation is only one of several dozens of rich and resonant words which are ordinarily accepted without a thought, but which it is essential, if we would think clearly, that we should subject to the most searching analysis."

Hamilton Fyfe, English author and journalist, in "The Illusion of National Character" (Watts & Co., 1940) explains how the modern conception of "the nation" and the emotions and feelings that center around it have developed. A gradual transfer of loyalty from the king to the nation has taken place. "The crown" in England is the symbol that stands for the transition. The flag means much less to an Englishman than to an American. We have no crown, no king. When we speak of "our country, our country does this, our country does that", we mean the little group that is in control at that time. Techniques have been developed by which those who hold the emotional control of the people can act as they wish while the people believe that they, themselves, are exerting the popular will.

A nation submits to leadership, authority, government, so long as the people retain confidence in their rulers. An hereditary line of monarchs establishes in successive generations a feeling of legitimacy that wins the consent of the governed. This habit of obedience to constituted authority is essential to an orderly society, Ferrero maintains in "The Principles of Power" (Putnam, 1942). The divergent nations held in leash as the Austro-Hungarian Empire had become so conditioned to the Hapsburgs.

In looking at other peoples, to what they consent, submit, the ways of

life they follow, it may be just as well to understand the forces that have acted and are acting upon them before we offer criticism. The world they see, looking out through their eyeholes, is such that they probably would not even survive if they tried to follow our way of life.

In this country and throughout the world today the tendency is toward government by consent. That is quite different from the attitude of the people at the time of the American, French or Russian Revolutions. The terms communism, fascism, democracy, legitimacy rather confuse and prevent our looking at the psychological attitudes or peoples and inquiring into the conditions that have brought them about. Under any of those systems, once established, there may be government by consent.

A people that has been deprived and suffered may submit to authority in the hope of improved condition. In a state of siege, a people must submit to restrictions, rationing, regimentation to make the most of their resources. In a besieged city with limited food supply those who cannot serve must be driven out that the defenders may survive. As conditions become more difficult, democracy fades and dictatorship looms. The present unity of the German people is in part due to hope, but their unity may be equally due to their experience after the Armistice, and to the present threats of partition, deprivation, and punitive measures that emanate from the leaders of the Allies.

We Americans have long been so isolated and so self-sufficient that we are not much interested in the ways of other people. Our first endeavor with the foreigners who come to us is to 'Americanize' them, to make all youth 'good citizens' according to our own ideas. We lack the intimate knowledge of other people and their ways that we might have acquired from closer association. Such familiarity as we have has bred the contempt that we have poured out on the 'greasers', 'polacks', 'wops'.

'Comparative education' has been a topic much written about, but without adequate information or understanding. Most books on the subject deal with the documents and outlines and announcements of governments or systems. That is much like the study of white and yellow diplomatic papers, and not much more revealing. A world view of educational practices and purposes has been taken by but few. But it is by comparison of varied forms that safe generalization is arrived at. From comparative anatomy we have learned much about the evolution or gradual change of bodily structures.

Carleton Washburne, educational heir of Colonel Parker and Frederic

Burk, in 1932 made a voyage of educational discovery round the world. His "Remakers of Mankind" (John Day, 1932) is one of the most significant books of the decade, not yet fully appreciated. He talked with the educational leaders and the political rulers of many lands to ascertain which of the three great purposes of education, as he conceived them, prevailed,—perpetuation of the ancient order as in Japan, preparation for a new order as in Russia and Italy, or development of the child's individuality as in the modern schools of Europe and America. Washburne was interested to discover how far nationalistic history and aims interfered with freedom of teaching and discussion.

Leaders in education in various countries were interviewed to find out what they wanted, hoped, and intended to do with youth. In China he found the modern leaders were intent on building a spirit of nationalism. In India the intellectuals were impotent because of the lack of national consciousness. In Russia, Turkey, and Italy education was being used to indoctrinate the young with the ideals of the new social order.

Washburne sought out the idealists and reformers and those who were interested in the more modern attitudes toward education. In his investigations he discovered that governments in some countries relied on education to perpetuate their control. Few educators before his time had realized to what extent those who held power depended for its continuance on the indoctrination of youth in the necessary tenets, principles, fundamentals, ways of life, and such like.

In Japan this was easy to see, though Washburne failed to penetrate behind the propaganda of those who had seized control of the government and revived Shinto. Nitobe's little book on "Bushido", a very clever piece of propaganda, so impressed Theodore Roosevelt that he threw his influence at Portsmouth in Japan's favor and against Russia. The views that follow are not Washburne's but are based on five sojourns in Japan and thirty-five years of study of the Japanese culture.

The people of Japan for a thousand years have been, as they still are, Buddhist, a culture gradually introduced to a primitive people of Asiatic and Malay stock, first through Korea and later from China with the Chinese culture. At periods through Japan's long history the power was seized successively by the Ashikaga dynasty and the adventurer Hideyoshi,—during which the Mikado played an unimportant part.

With the coming of the Europeans in the 16th century, the people rapidly became Christian, till the Tokugawas came into control and closed

the country to all foreign influences. After Admiral Perry demonstrated the weakness of their government, the southern clans in the 1860's seized power and acted in the name of the Mikado, who, during the previous two centuries, had been kept in impotent retirement, practically a prisoner in Kyoto. It became necessary to revive the myth of the divine ancestry of Mikado, to bring him out of retirement and to exert power in his name.

Shintoism had long been forgotten. The Japanese antiquarians and archeologists who in the 1830's began to investigate this had done so at danger to their lives, and some were beheaded. With the passing of the Tokugawa shoguns, Shinto was revived as a sort of state religion. Behind this the elder statesmen, originally the leaders of the three southern clans, later the great industrial powers(2), and more recently the military, act in the name of the descendant of the Sun Goddess, just as in England those who control screen themselves behind the Crown.

The Buddhist culture from Korea, later from China, was imposed on an earlier culture without supplanting it. The people as a whole have for a thousand years remained essentially Buddhist. Shinto, superimposed on Buddhism, is taught in the schools much as our religion is in our schools. Only on special occasions and on Shinto festivals are the people Shintoist, just as we are Christians on Sundays and certain holidays. The industrial, technological culture of the West has been imposed on this without affecting more than a fraction of the people. Today the military have seized power, but that is an old story in Japanese history.

It is easy to see how the control of educational machinery and the complete conditioning of the young has been used to perpetuate the control of those who have seized power. To the military who hold it today in their period of what they consider national redemption and expansion, the belief in the divinity of their sovereign and the divine mission of the country is essential to success. 'Dangerous thinking' along any other lines is rigorously suppressed.

Mussolini and the Soviet leaders early built their second line of defense on youth which they recognized as essential to their continuance of control. In Germany the same has long been true, under the Kaiser as under the Nazi regime, where it is perfectly apparent to us.

"The Germans know specifically what they want in education, be it right or wrong. They see clearly the young German type that they want to turn out, and they do not consider the schools as the only educational agency which is to mold this product", writes W. F. Ogburn of the Uni-

versity of Chicago in "Future Trends in Education", *Elementary School Journal*, Oct., 1939. His theme is that where "underlying social conditions are changing", education must adapt itself to the needs.

"One does not imply any acceptance of Nazi goals in pointing out that the young people of Germany have been given something in which they may lose themselves—a set of values, an assumption that lights every item of life with meaning", remarks James S. Plant, the psychiatrist, in the *Educational Record*, April, 1941.

President MacCracken, writing on "Educational Reconstruction" (*Vassar Alumnae Magazine*, Dec., 1940) contrasted our own indefiniteness with the German's clearcut philosophy, "It is essential that America should set forth its belief in the democratic ideal by a philosophy of education which can be commended as the means by which democracy is achieved. The opponents of democracy have not been so remiss. They have expounded their philosophy of totalitarian education, and they have put it into practice."

As a people, the Germans delight in philosophy, metaphysics, and theological discussions. Under war conditions university instruction in these subjects was early curtailed or discontinued. The philosophy that they are now putting into action has been developed as a result of conditions imposed from without, we learn from Kneller.(3)

"The good of the Volk (race) in Germany dominates everything, including education. The schools are ordered to turn out perfect 'Nordic man'. . . . Says the Führer: 'It is our ideal to render the youth of the future tall and slender, as fast as the greyhound, as tough as leather, and as hard as Krupp steel'. . . . Liberalism sees the individual sacrificed completely for Volk welfare, and not without justification. But the fundamental premises of individual freedom are wholly different in National Socialism from those of democracy, so much so that the freedom of the individual German is considered today even greater than that enjoyed in a democracy."

The "greatest 'reform' comes in the teaching of history. History should not be studied retrospectively but as a guide for future behavior. History in the curriculum should be shortened, dates and names minimized in importance, the main value being in the study of trends and great developments."

On language study Kneller quotes Hitler's words: "It is hard to see why millions of people have to learn two or three languages which they

can only partially ever use and which are completely forgotten by the majority".

In England education was long exclusively a function of the Church. After the time of Henry VIII, 'Defender of the Faith', the state had vested interest in the Church and incidentally in education. Henry VIII it is true, as philanthropist rather than as king, established Eton and other schools like that for poor boys. But until recently education has been a matter of Church or local concern. After the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome, the universities still remained under the control of the Church. Today they are largely supported by government subventions, and half the students receive government grants.

The English universities as war came to England were obliged to modify their course. On his return from England, President Conant of Harvard reported on "British Universities in the War", in the *Educational Record*, July, 1941. He told of the shrinking enrollment, the turn to practical subjects, the elimination of studies that did not immediately contribute to the war. At that time they were evidently following the course of the German universities. On the occasion of the Heidelberg 500th anniversary, President Conant went out of his way, in refusing an invitation, to snub Heidelberg for similarly modifying and adapting their courses for the promotion of war. Today Harvard and other American universities are cutting down on cultural studies and have become armed camps for technical study. President Conant, addressing the Harvard students in October at the opening of the 1942 fall term, reminded them "Neither the academic world nor the Federal Government was ready with plans for transforming college education to suit the needs of a total war" and warned "Only a trace of the broadening background of a liberal arts curriculum can survive in these grim days".

The dual system of education has long prevailed in England. The report of the Conservative Party (cf p 195) of September, 1942, upholds it and urges its retention. The interest of the governing classes in education for the mass of the people has generally been to limit expense. It is only against strong opposition of the propertied classes that the "school leaving age" has been gradually raised to 14. The law is not one that "allows" the child to be withdrawn at that age. It terminates education except for the small percentage that can pass the very stiff examination to go on beyond the age of 14. (Cf Handbook of Private Schools, 26th ed., 1942, p 138; 25th ed., 1941, p 50) (4)

With all the idealistic expressions for improving education now current in England the reactionary tendencies of those in power is evident in the recommendations of the Conservative Sub-committee on Education passed in September 1941. They insist upon the development of a "strong sense of national obligation in the individual citizen" and the encouragement of "an ardent understanding of the State's need" as "the primary duty of national education". To the *New Statesman and Nation* this seems too much like following in Hitler's fascist footsteps. Satirically the editors summarize the recommendations in these words, "Catch 'em young, in fact pitchfork 'em into a single State-controlled youth organisation, pump into 'em the right ideas, give 'em no chance to come into contact with any other ideas and no energy to assimilate them if they did, and you will have 'em just where you want 'em" (Oct. 3, 1942).

We have seen in other countries that those in power, dictators or those behind the screen of parliamentary government, control education. Perhaps education has always been controlled, by those who had the power and thought it worth controlling. So it becomes of great interest to investigate if such control exists, and if so by whom and to what end.

Sir Henri Deterding, the Dutch Shell Oil king, reported, "My talk with Mussolini proved that there were several points on which we saw eye to eye. We both agreed that the coping stone of education is a sense of discipline and respect for prestige, lacking which no youth can be considered to have been properly educated at all." (5)

The control of the machinery for education and for indoctrinating youth gives such men a sense of power in maintaining discipline and respect for authority. Moreover it is satisfying to believe they are maintaining the traditions of the past and the ways of the fathers. But in America where the spirit of independence breaks out occasionally, admonitions and tutelage of this sort must be cloaked in the robe of patriotism or religion, in which our professional men of politics, education, and religion must become skilled. (6)

In England, except when statesmen get into a tight fix as at present or are directing their voices to their cousins overseas, democracy is a word less heard, chiefly for export. There the caste system is more marked than in "Yankee City". (7) The children and the people were long trained and conditioned to respect their betters and to pray, "God bless the squire and his relations, and keep us in our proper stations".

Our ears have been so filled with idealistic expressions and hopes, that

reality close to us has been obscured. We Americans who have turned our eyes away from recognition of how our thought and teaching has come to be controlled, are shocked when in more totalitarian countries we see such control disclosed nakedly. (8)

NOTES

(1) John Dewey has protested against the "demonstrations of the average low level of native intelligence". He maintains that we should do something "to secure full operation of what native intellectual capacity there is, however limited it may be". And Robert Briffault, anthropologist, historian, surgeon, inveighs against "stupidity deliberately, laboriously, vigilantly cultivated by the established institutions" ("Reasons for Anger", Simon & Schuster, 1936).

(2) This recent phase of Japanese history is admirably explained by Oland D. Russell in "House of Mitsui" (Little, Brown, 1939) and in a more extravagantly sensational way in fictional form in "The Three Bamboos" by Robert Standish (Macmillan, 1942). Of the many recent books on the subject, one of the best is "Behind the Face of Japan" (Appleton-Century, 1942) by Upton Close, a revised and up-to-date edition of an earlier work.

(3) "The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism" (Yale University Press, 1941) was announced as "a strictly objective" study of the "strength and 'fanatic fury' " of Germany, by *Newsweek*, June 24, 1940. The author, George Frederick Kneller, is a thirty-four year old Englishman who has lived in America twenty-three years, studied at thirteen universities and visited Germany five times.

Kneller's book has received almost uniformly appreciative reviews in the learned and educational journals. This work becomes of greater value in view of the promotion and popularization of much vituperative and ill-informed writing on the subject such as Erika Mann's "School for Barbarians" and Ziemer's "Education for Death". Other adequate works in English are John W. Taylor's "Youth Welfare in Germany" (Baird-Ward, 1936), and "Education in Germany" by Alina M. Lindegren, Bulletin 1938, No. 15, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

Kneller writes, "The excuse for this investigation is traceable to the existence in English of a deplorably small amount of dispassionate, objective literature on Na-constant reworking of a point of view previously expressed". This "is an attempt to present the situation as it is, seen in its own light and from its own point of view."

The historic trend of the German people is being followed today, adapting education to needs of the time, an ideal that Goethe put briefly, succinctly, "I detest everything I am merely taught and which I cannot put to good use in my actions".

(4) The broadening of education in the United States has met with the same opposition (cf p 81). Cf also H. M. Kallen, "The War and Education in the United States", *American Journal of Sociology*, Nov. 1942.

(5) From "The Most Powerful Man in the World" (Covici Friede, 1938),

a most significant biography of Deterding written by his former secretary, Glyn Roberts. Roberts adds, "The chat with the Pope which followed shortly afterwards appeared to follow broadly similar lines. This question of education seemed to boil down, as many men have always said that in fact 'education' under capitalist conditions always does, to inculcating in the young that 'sense of discipline' ('lacking which no youth can be considered to have been properly educated at all') and that respect for the prestige of those who, by whatever methods, have succeeded in getting control of effective power in this modern world."

(6) As Commencement approached at Harvard in 1941 and the well disciplined alumni were about to gather, some undergraduates lacking this "sense of discipline and respect for prestige" and in rebellion at Conant's promotion of the war and in opposition to the granting of the honorary degree that was about to be conferred on Lord Halifax, in silent protest paraded before the president's office. Reflecting the opinion of those in the higher brackets, the *Boston Herald*, June 5, 1941, editorially rebuked the undergraduates on grounds that would have appealed to Deterding and Mussolini, as "utterly irreconcilable with good taste and respect for constituted authority". But the greatest offense was not that this was "directed against a famous educator, head of an institution supported largely by endowments", but that this "act of studied insolence" was "against a gentleman who, it is said, will receive an honorary degree".

(7) The "Yankee City" Series under the direction of W. Lloyd Warner, University of Chicago, reports on a ten year study of Newburyport where six well divided castes are distinguished. Two volumes have been published, "The Social Life of a Modern Community" (Yale University Press, 1941) and "The Status System of a Modern Community" (Yale, 1942). The completed study will run to six volumes.

(8) Realization that our great United States have been held back from meeting the needs of the times has permeated even to the sports writers. Bill Cunningham in the *Boston Herald*, Nov. 29, 1942, discusses the survival of the colleges after the war,—“The usual charge is that schools of the Ivy persuasion bumbled blindly along following a classic British pattern that had been smashed to smithereens, and that when the crisis struck this country, with its call for quick and loyal youth, the Ivy youth, as a class, wasn't ready.”

He quotes President Bixler of Colby, "The 'Ivory Tower' idea of a college has been dealt a death blow. People see that the basic purpose of a college is to serve the needs of society . . . in thinking through the social problem. It is true that the colleges have not done this in the past. . . . I can testify that large sections of people in the European countries, and notably in Germany, were ready for a new view of the whole international set-up and looked eagerly to America for leadership as the powerful young democracy. They came to feel that America was fumbling with the problem, that it didn't really understand what democracy meant, especially in the international field, and so in despair and in their own inertia they succumbed to the appeal to prejudice and force."

HOW UNIVERSITIES ARE CONTROLLED

If there is control of educational objectives in this country and England, as it is obvious there is in Japan and Germany, then it would be advantageous for those who hold the power to keep hidden the means and methods. In any case it is not easy to trace the lines of control in this our increasingly complex acquisitive culture.

Lincoln idealized our government as of, by, and for the people. And for the politician seeking votes, those phrases are his best stock in trade. We hear much in war and election time about our democracy. At other times we are reminded that it was a republic that was founded by the fathers, and that ours is a government by representatives. Few know, not many suspect, the unseen forces which ultimately control the voters through communication or the representatives through other means. Few understand how our democratic machinery actually operates.(1)

A successful, benevolent, efficient autocracy or oligarchy, so long as the majority are satisfied, is evidently an eminently satisfactory form of government. Such is, it is generally recognized, the government of our great universities. The undiscerning or cautious seldom inquire or detect who or what ultimately controls.

Our older American colleges date from long before the advent of democratic thought.(2) Their set-up naturally follows the pattern established in the ancient ecclesiastical institutions of the mother country. Control is vested in a self-perpetuating, autocratic corporative body, known at William and Mary as the "Board of Visitors", at King's College, now Columbia University, and at most other universities, as "Trustees". State universities whose income is dependent upon the legislature usually have a board of either regents or trustees appointed by the governor.(3) Harvard, the oldest of the North American Universities, 1636,—many of the Spanish American universities are a century older,—is controlled by the "President and Fellows", originally drawn from the teaching staff, and a "Board of Overseers", which began in 1642 as trustees representing church and state.(4)

The oldest of our North American universities has become more democratic with the passage of time. That has not been accomplished with-

out protest against the autocratic or unseen control, on the part of her greatest sons. Emerson, Wendell Phillips, C. F. Adams, his sons Charles Francis Jr., Henry, and Brooks, John Jay Chapman, Nathaniel Shaler, and others periodically appear, to challenge what is.

Thoreau shook the dust of Harvard from his feet, to continue his education at Concord and Walden. Emerson as early as 1837 held up new ideals of scholarship yet unrealized, and for a quarter of a century was ostracized. In 1859 he denounced the control,—“Harvard College has no voice in Harvard College, but State Street votes it down on every ballot. . . . And all the young men come out decrepit Bostonians; not a poet, nor a prophet, not a daemon, but is gagged and stifled, or driven away.”

Even beneficent old Oliver Wendell Holmes in his 250th anniversary Harvard poem slung his gob of mud. “Yon gilded dome that glitters in the sun was Dives’ gift,—alas, his only one! These buttressed walls enshrine a banker’s name, that hallowed chapel hides a miser’s shame.”

Henry Adams in 1894 wrote, “Even supposing that our universities would permit their professors in this country to announce the scientific certainty of communistic triumphs, could Europe be equally liberal? Would property, on which the universities depend, allow such to be destroyed? Would the state suffer its foundation to be destroyed? Would society as now constituted tolerate the open assertion of a necessity which should affirm its approaching overthrow?” (5)

Nathaniel Shaler, one of the most beloved of Harvard’s teachers, from 1904 foresaw and fought the gradual encroachment on Harvard of financial control. In an address he warned of the dangers that lay ahead. “If these self-renewing bodies of business men are to be the sole keepers and administrators of these important estates, the Faculty and the Alumni, it cannot be expected that they will hereafter command the confidence of those who would send their good purposes on from generation to generation.” (6)

As early as 1905 J. McKen Cattell wrote in the *Independent*, Dec. 28, “The trust promoter and insurance president, the political boss and government official, the university president and school superintendent, have assumed powers and perquisites utterly subversive of a true democracy. . . . The methods of the business corporation and the political machine have been somewhat wantonly applied to educational administration in this country.” He continued to follow the gradual growth of financial control of the university and the growing autocracy of its in-

ternal administration. In his "University Control", 1913, which deals with "the autocratic system of administration which has developed in our universities" he wrote, "That a professor's salary should depend on the favor of a president or that he should be dismissed without a hearing by a president with the consent of an absentee board of trustees is a state of affairs not conceivable in an English or a Germany university".(7)

John Jay Chapman in 1910 declared that the money for the colleges and their expansion "has come from the business world" as have the "men chosen to do the work. . . . As the boss has been the tool of business men in politics, so the college president has been his agent in education." The man who had an idea "of what 'ought to be' . . . was thrown out of education . . . exactly as he was thrown out of politics. . . . College presidents have . . . toward their faculties . . . been autocrats . . . toward the millionaire they have been sycophants, because the age has [so] demanded." (8)

The late Amos Pinchot, clear-sighted and courageous, in 1915 in his testimony before the Walsh Commission pointed out that there was nothing new about this control, though in America it was little recognized at that time. "In 1815 when Metternich saddled Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria with a system of feudal absolutisms his powerful weapon against the spread of what he called 'revolutionary ideas' was control of education by vigilant censorship of the universities."

The American Historical Association some years ago appointed a Commission on the Social Studies. Howard K. Beale wrote two of the volumes of its extensive report. In Volume XII, "Are American Teachers Free?" (Scribner, 1936), for which he says he found it "hard to gather the evidence . . . to present it judiciously", Beale quotes Dean Pound of Harvard as saying: "Punishment for the harboring and expressing of unorthodox economic and political view is more sure and more swift than punishment for murder".(9)

In "A History of Freedom of Teaching in American Schools", Volume XVI, (Scribner, 1941), Beale comes to the conclusion: "Teachers are less free to take the peace side of the war issue than the unpopular side of economic questions. . . . Usually, however, it is opposition to war that teachers feel they are not free to express. Many are afraid to advocate total disarmament or to criticize the Supreme Court for its refusal to admit pacifists to citizenship. Still more dare not declare that our entry into the World War was a mistake or praise war-time 'conscientious objectors'. Most dangerous of all is swearing not to bear arms. Criticism

of the Government is dangerous. One teacher out of three was afraid even to criticize President Hoover for using the army to drive the bonus men out of Washington or to accuse state officials of corruption. It is more dangerous, however, to express censure of the President of the United States on other grounds.”(10)

It has become increasingly apparent that the direct control of education and particularly of the university has always been in the hands of a few under the indirect control of higher ups. These latter would be remiss indeed and soon lose power if they did not exert what they consider a proper control of higher education, which must train educators and in turn dominate the lower schools.

In “Fear—The Master Enemy”, Dr. A. O. Bowden in 1937 boldly stated, “Fear, having been induced in the controllers of capital and industry, is through them created in those seeking political or social preferment. From these . . . fear . . . is communicated. . . . Insidious pressure and intimidation control the teaching profession.” (*School and Society*)

Veblen in “The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men” clearly recognized the relation of university teachers to business men.(11) “They have eaten his bread and it is for them to do his bidding. . . . So soon as the higher learning ceases to be merely decorative and begins to show an interfering spirit, it is denounced by business men as useless or worse.”

The president of a university must be something of a politician and must have, as Veblen puts it, “a serene and voluble loyalty to the current conventionalities and a conspicuously profound conviction that all things are working out for good, except for such untoward details as do not visibly conduce to the vested advantage of the well-to-do business men under the established law and order”.(12)

The president of a college or university has a nervous job. He is to be pitied. He must be at least two-faced, like Janus. His success is measured by his ability to satisfy undergraduates, alumni, faculty, trustees and donors. Little wonder he gets jittery and appears to be a ‘fence-sitter’.

It is inevitable then that the college president should come to be “habitually guilty of falsehood and selfish intrigue”, as Professor Ladd(13) of Yale put it. Or as President Harper of Chicago blandly remarked, “a superficial observer will find much to substantiate the very common accusation that the college president is professionally a prevaricator”.

Twenty years or so later President Dodds of Princeton reflects their

hardened attitude toward their role in telling of another president who remarked, "My third year was the hardest. It was in that year that the faculty found out that I was a liar." And Dodds added, "This story I am inclined to discount. A good executive would not have let the faculty find it out."

The growing peril in education, "the undue dominance of administration", was described and anticipated by Joseph Jastrow of the University of Wisconsin, after twenty-five years of academic service. "What is imperiled most directly is the academic career: its worth, its service, its security, its satisfactions, its attractiveness to the higher types of men. . . . The present system wastes the intellectual force and enthusiasm of good teachers; it deadens initiative and cultivates prudent acquiescence." (14)

James P. Munroe of M. I. T., long prominent in Massachusetts educational affairs and valiant battler against the tendencies of the time, proclaimed, "The American university has become an autocracy, wholly foreign in spirit and plan to our political ideals and little short of amazing to those marvels of thoroughgoing democracy, the German universities". (15)

"The present relationship between the faculty, trustees, and president may be regarded as a haphazard growth, the result of a laissez-faire policy, affording an example of . . . sufficient-to-the-day spirit and smug satisfaction", explained President Stewart Paton of Princeton.

President Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell, incensed at the degradation of the faculty, advised, "Look again at a German university. The state furnishes the funds for its maintenance and development, but, subject to the very light touch of a minister of education, the government of the university is in the hands of the faculty." ("Faculty Participation in University Government", *Science*, Nov. 22, 1912)

"It has been said that university faculties are poor legislative bodies; if true, this would not be surprising, so long as their deliberations are confined to discussing questions such as whether they shall wear gowns at commencement, the decision being with the trustees", wrote Cattell. "A single university which [makes tenure and preferment dependent on the president's ukase] . . . will in the end obtain a faculty consisting of a few adventurers, a few sycophants and a crowd of mediocrities". If all universities so act, able men will not embark "on such ill-starred ships". (*Science*, May 24 and 31, 1912)

The *Dial* at that time (1912) commented, "Was there ever a more

vicious circle of argument than that which defends the persistence in a system productive of such unfortunate results by urging that the personnel of the profession has now been brought so low that the restoration of its inherent rights would entail disastrous consequences?"

"No one knows better than the regular attendants at faculty meetings the hesitant, dispirited, nibbling, myopic, lame and wearisome discussions that are a trial to spirit and flesh; but the reasons therefor lie in the 'vicious circle' from which they can be released by converting the prisoners into the guardians of a fortress," Jastrow observes, quoting the above. "If the members of the faculty are not qualified to decide educational measures, and to do so broadly, not with a narrow professionalism but with due regard to diversified, at times conflicting, public interests, then there is something seriously wrong about their training or in the manner of their election or in the influences to which their judgments are exposed."

Since the regimentation of the first World War and more particularly in recent years university men have become more cautious and measured in their statements. Long before the war enforced unity and conformity there was increasing evidence of a growing caution and timidity. Some have gone all out in their pronouncements and won favor with the powers that be. (16)

A professor of sociology at Tulane University, Logan Wilson, writing on "The Academic Man", confines himself largely to the influences of the inmates of the institution upon each other. It does reveal the 'order of pecking' within the universities and colleges much as Allee has revealed it among the barnyard fowls. The author is evidently too aware of external controls to delve deeply into this subject, which, however, he considers "an inviting subject for sociological inquiry". (17)

It is an even better subject for the anthropologist. A study of the folkways and the tabus of academic man should prove most resultful. In the 1938 edition of the Handbook of Private Schools we called for such a survey. (18) It is even more practical now that improved methods for the anthropological study of normal communities have been worked out by W. Lloyd Warner. "The Social Life of a Modern Community" (Yale, 1941) and "The Status System of a Modern Community" (Yale, 1942) by Warner and Lunt are the first two of the six volumes to be published in the Yankee City Series. In an old established New England community he found six castes, the caste system highly developed.

This would be in line with President Conant's demand in 1936 at the Harvard Tercentenary that "we must examine the immediate origins of our political, economic, and cultural life and then work backwards. . . . The forces of modern capitalism must be dissected as fearlessly as the geologist examines the origin of rocks. . . . On this point there can be no compromise; we are either afraid of heresy or we are not." (19)

Conant found however that it was necessary to compromise. President Lowell had brought to the university an additional hundred million dollars. The Harvard *Alumni Bulletin*, Jan. 16, 1943, begins its editorial on his death, "one never thought of him as Emeritus", and Conant in his tribute said "Harvard College as it stands today is to a large extent his handiwork". The Boston *Herald* quoting this added, Lowell's influence on the "destiny of not only Harvard but American education in general even during his retirement was tremendous".

William James would find today that the university has departed from the ideal which he set up in acknowledging the honorary degree which Harvard had conferred upon him, "The university most worthy of rational admiration is that one in which your lonely thinker can feel himself least lonely, most positively furthered, and most richly fed. . . . Our undisciplinables are our proudest product."

James would find none of these today at Harvard, no Emersons, no Thoreaus, no Jameses. They have been cowed, weeded out in the preliminary stages. They have been thrown out with increasingly mild protest from professors and students.

How this is accomplished is explained by Harry Elmer Barnes in his "Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World". (20) "Today the usual technique is to take every precaution that no realistic or 'dangerous' men shall be added to the faculties, whatever their scholarly achievements or special capacity for efficient instruction. Thereupon, much ado is made about the complete freedom extended to this select and cautious teaching staff. . . . (21)

"The result is a great decline in the freshness, originality, vitality, and realism of instruction in institutions of higher learning. . . . Great educational endowments—'foundations'—have cooperated in this effort to promote academic docility. Under the guise of ultra-scientific rigor, their directors extol the spirit of research and condemn as unscholarly professors who venture opinions on current economic, political, or social matters."

In his later "Social Institutions" (Prentice-Hall, 1942) Barnes writes, "The worst feature is that the general conservative and traditional cast of our educational system brings about a condition which produces teachers entirely in accord with a regime of intellectual lethargy and cultural lag". (Cf Toynbee, p 350 *supra*)

NOTES

(1) The best and so far as I know the only book on the working of democracy in Great Britain and America is by M. Ostrogorski, a Russian, "Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties", 2 volumes (Macmillan, 1902). For further comment on books on democracy and how and why they are ignored, cf "Getting U S Into War" (Porter Sargent, 1941), pp 558-60.

(2) A caste system is rigidly enforced among the colleges and universities. There are regional accrediting groups, church boards, foundations, that attempt to rate and classify. The upper caste consists of the thirty-four self elected, self perpetuating who pride themselves on their graduate work. This American Association of Universities publishes a "Memorandum for Guidance of Institutions Seeking Approval of the Association for Inclusion in its Accepted List" which explains "one of the chief grounds for inclusion" is success "in stimulating scholarly interest . . . and in preparing them for more advanced scholarly endeavor". For approval "the financial status of a college is of very great importance. . . . Financial support . . . helps to relieve the institution of the temptation . . . to continue on its rolls students of poor academic quality" and "makes possible a stronger faculty",—but it calls for a degree of subservience and orthodoxy. The list of approved colleges does not include such stimulating educational adventures as Sarah Lawrence, Black Mountain, and Bennington, or those who dare to operate without the title like the New School of Social Research.

The Association of American Colleges comes second in the hierarchy of higher education with 663 members and announces a policy of "inclusiveness and inter-helpfulness rather than exclusiveness". 230 of its members are included in the list of 281 colleges approved by the A.A.U. 51 colleges approved by the A.A.U. are not embraced in the A.A.C.'s policy of "inclusiveness".

(3) Dennis Brogan in "U.S.A., An Outline of the Country, Its People and Institutions" (Oxford University Press, 1941), says of American universities, "The final authority is the Board of Trustees. This consists of the President of the College and of a small body of outsiders, usually eminent business men or, in the case of state universities, politicians. This body, on which the teachers are ill represented or not represented at all, has the final word on all questions of policy, especially financial policy. . . . As states are legally competent to charter colleges and universities the only legal safeguard against debasing the academic currency is the conscience of the legislature—and that has proved highly elastic. . . . To be a college graduate may mean anything, from having received an education in one of the greatest universities in the world to having spent some years in an institu-

tion which teaches anything, at any level, from that of a badly-equipped high school upwards. . . . There is an elaborate unofficial system of 'recognizing' colleges and teachers, and it makes a good deal of difference in a profession to have graduated from a first-class law school or medical school or graduate school of arts and sciences."

(4) For the control of Harvard, cf "Who Runs Harvard?" by Leo Marx, *Harvard Progressive*, Dec., 1939, who fails to fully answer the question, and cites the previous attempt of J. E. Kirkpatrick, professor of political science at the University of Michigan, who in 1924 published "How Harvard Is Governed". Cf also "What Makes Lives" (Porter Sargent, 1940), pp 196-204; "Human Affairs" (Sargent, 1938), pp 53-78.

A folder issued by the Class Secretaries Association, entitled "Harvard and the Alumni", explains the set-up. The Harvard Alumni Association is "active in the management of all organized Alumni affairs. . . . One of the duties of the Secretary is to cooperate with the Secretary of the Associated Harvard Clubs" in providing speakers for "Harvard Clubs in various parts of the country" and to keep in touch with the Association of Class Secretaries "formed . . . for the purpose of unifying and extending" their services. Likewise there is an Association of Class Treasurers for "coordinating" their work. The *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* is "the official voice of the Harvard Alumni Association".

"The Corporation is the controlling Board", but the Board of Overseers possesses veto power over all the acts of the Corporation. No appointment can be made for more than one year, nor degree granted, without "the concurrence of this Board" of Overseers. It receives at monthly and annual intervals reports from the President, "examines the records of the Treasurer", appoints committees to report on the activities of each School and Department.

The Board of Overseers is now elected by postal ballot, as result of a protracted agitation supported by the Harvard Liberal Club during the early twenties, as are the directors of the Alumni Association and the Harvard Fund Council which act as testing grounds. Before that the election was in person at Commencement. But nominations are made by a committee. To maintain the democratic front, it is made possible for alumni to get other names put on the ballot by petition, usually an ineffective effort.

(5) Henry Adams, called to Harvard by President Eliot in the early '80's, inaugurated and for seven years conducted the modern system of history teaching. On his retirement from the presidency of the American Historical Association, to the Secretary he wrote from Guada'-c-jara, Dec. 12, 1894, "I cannot imagine the limits of the shock that might follow the establishment of a fixed science of history. . . . What shape can be given to any science of history that will not shake to its foundations some prodigious interest? . . . The hostility of the state would be assured toward any system or science that might not strengthen its arm. Property is growing more and more timid and looks with extreme jealousy on any new idea that may weaken vested rights. Labor is growing more and more self-confident and looks with contempt on all theories that do not support its own." (Cf Henry

Adams, "The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma", Macmillan, 1920)

His brother, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., in three Phi Beta Kappa addresses from 1883 to 1906, condemned the timid and cautious selection and teaching of subjects at Harvard. "How did Harvard College prepare me . . . for our work in a life. . . ? In answering the question it is not altogether easy to preserve one's gravity. The college fitted us for this active, bustling, hard-hitting, many-tongued world . . . by compelling us . . . to devote the best part of our school lives to acquiring a confessedly superficial knowledge of two dead languages. . . . And learning by heart the Greek grammar did me harm,—a great deal of harm. While I was doing it, the observing and reflective powers lay dormant; indeed, they were systematically suppressed. Their exercise was resented as a sort of impertinence." (Charles Francis Adams, "Three Phi Beta Kappa Addresses: A College Fetich, 1883, Shall Cromwell Have a Statue? 1902, Some Modern College Tendencies, 1906", Houghton, Mifflin, 1907)

(6) Shaler was a close friend of Gordon McKay (United Shoe Machinery Company). The latter's bequest of his millions to Harvard for engineering education was the result of Shaler's cultivation. When on Shaler's return from Europe in 1904 he found that the governing board had usurped functions formerly delegated to the faculty, he was greatly disappointed. The resulting contest with reference to the sharing of a large part of the income to M. I. T. cost him much labor and anguish and shortened his life.

In the disposal of the McKay bequest, "besides the immediate question involved", Shaler "believed that other important problems of the higher education would be decided by the issue of the contention; foremost among these were 'the respective rights', as he phrased it, 'of the three estates of the School realm—the Corporation, the Faculty, and the Board of Overseers'. What gave special emphasis to this question of authority was the statement that the decision on the 'merger' project would be determined by the Corporation and Board of Overseers, who would be pleased to hear the opinion of the Faculty, but, whatever the opinion might be, it could have no authority whatever. In the address already alluded to Shaler called attention to the fact that the Faculty was steadily losing power.

"The vote of the Corporation of the Institute and the action so far had by the Corporation of Harvard College will mean, if it be not checked, that the shaping of our great schools is not hereafter to be in the hands of experts in the science and art of education, but will be determined by men who are necessarily without other than the amateur's smattering of such learning. It means that institutions having for their province the development of experts and the extension of their high functions on which civilization depends shall in their very government deny the essential value of such training.

"The meaning of this action goes yet further: it makes a radical change in the nature of these trust-keepers of our public schools. Gifts bestowed upon them have been made not to trustees as bodies separate from the institution as a whole, but with the tacit supposition that the faculties were integral parts of the structure, able to make themselves felt in the important questions of education. To assume

that the one board, because it has the legal power, may suppress or transfer or otherwise profoundly alter the constitution, is to change the position of these schools in our societies.' " ("The Autobiography of Nathaniel Southgate Shaler: With a Supplementary Memoir by his Wife", Houghton, Mifflin, 1908)

(7) Cattell's "University Control" (Science Press, 1913), includes many articles and letters by university people, criticizing the growing external control of the university and the internal autocracy. In an "Historical Retrospect" he reminds us that the medieval university was a 'company of scholars', self-controlled, with zealously maintained rights and privileges independent of the state. "In England the colleges were the property of the head and fellows, who had complete control of the establishment. . . . In Germany the university is indeed the creature of the state and subject to it. But during the nineteenth century academic freedom and the independence and influence of the professor attained a remarkable supremacy."

"The medieval universities, as you know, were preeminently nurseries and citadels of intellectual freedom and political democracy. They were 'essentially federated republics, the government of which pertained either to the whole body of the masters . . . or to the whole body of the students'." (James P. Munroe, "Closer Relations Between Trustees and Faculty", *Science*, Dec. 29, 1905, reprinted in Cattell, "University Control")

(8) Quoted from "Professorial Ethics", *Science*, July 1, 1910, republished in J. McKen Cattell's "University Control". Chapman goes on to say that private opinion has been regarded as "a nuisance. In this regard the colleges resembled everything else in America. The colleges have simply not been different from the rest of American life. Let a man express an opinion at a party caucus, or at a railroad directors' meeting [cf C. F. Adams] or at a college faculty meeting, and he will find that he is speaking against a predetermined force. What shall we do with such a fellow? Well, if he is old and distinguished, you may suffer him to have his say and then over-ride him. But if he is young, energetic and likely to give more trouble, you must eject him with as little fuss as circumstances will permit.

"This whole matter is a coil of influence emanating from the great public and winding up—and generally winding up very tight—about the necks of our college faculties and of our professional scholars. The millionaire and the college president are simply middlemen, who transmit the pressure from the average citizen to the learned classes. . . .

"The natural custodians of education in any age are the learned men of the land, including the professors and schoolmasters. Now these men have, at the present time in America, no conception of their responsibility. They are docile under the rule of the promoting college president, and they have a theory of their own function which debars them from militant activity. The average professor in an American college will look on at an act of injustice done to a brother professor by their college president with the same unconcern as the rabbit who is not attacked watches the ferret pursue his brother up and down through the warren to predestinate and horrible death. We know, of course, that it would cost the non-

attacked rabbit his place to express sympathy for the martyr; and the non-attacked is poor, and has offspring, and hopes of advancement. The non-attacked rabbit would, of course, become a suspect, and a marked man the moment he lifted up his voice in defense of rabbit-rights. . . .

"I have often wondered, when listening to the sickening tale of some brutality done by a practical college president to a young instructor, how it had been possible for the eminent men upon the faculty to sit through the operation without a protest. . . .

"In Germany there is a great public of highly educated, nay of deeply and variously learned people whose very existence secures pay, protection and reverence for the scholar. The same is true in France, England and Italy." In America, if a professor becomes known through his writings or discoveries, if he appeals to the people, then he is protected, "his position has at least some security".

At the annual dinner of the Harvard *Business Review*, reported on in the September, 1925, Harvard *Graduates' Magazine*, Chapman assured his audience that however controlled by business and however devoted to business ends, Harvard was not yet commercialized. "It is rumored that the Gude Sign Company offered to finance the entire University out of the receipts from the athletic contests in the Stadium, if they were allowed to rebuild and enlarge it, and to cover it with artistic advertising signs.—And you refused them!"

"The higher education of America is today controlled by big business", Chapman began an article in *School and Society*, Sept. 20, 1924, in which he explained how this came about through the well meaning attempts of college graduates to keep their alma maters abreast of the times. "The encouraging side", said Mr. Chapman, "is that things could not be worse. Certain identical features in the condition of Harvard and Yale are such as to convince any moderate intelligence that the higher learning in both institutions is likely to go over the precipice." (Cf Handbook of Private Schools, 9th ed., 1925, p 39)

"In the United States capital has long owned the leading universities by right of purchase, as it has owned the highways, the currency, and the press, and capital has used the universities, in a general way, to develop capitalistic ideas. This, however, is of no great moment. What is of moment is that capital has commercialized education. Apparently modern society, if it is to cohere, must have a high order of generalizing mind,—a mind which can grasp a multitude of complex relations,—but this is a mind which can, at best, only be produced in small quantity and at high cost. Capital has preferred the specialized mind and that not of the highest quality, since it has found it profitable to set quantity above quality to the limit which the market will endure." (Brooks Adams, "The Theory of Social Revolutions", Macmillan, 1913)

(9) In "Education And Organized Interests in America" (Putnam, 1936), Bruce Raup, of Teachers College, tells us how religious, political, industrial, and patriotic groups spend huge sums on propaganda in our schools and colleges. It is documented by hundreds of statements, showing how through the schools, unprincipled forces work to shape public policies, thereby moulding the minds and

characters of people to their own inconsiderate will. In a mature, dispassionate way, with factual knowledge and philosophic restraint, Raup presents the actual situation in America, which is of the greatest importance, particularly to those who do not know how their minds have been and are being poisoned.

(10) "In the 'nineties thoughtful men began to criticize the practices of American business. College professors, a few of them at least, began critical analyses of the economic order. Just as the struggle over freedom in science and religion was dying down, a new controversy burst forth over freedom in the realm of economic and social views. . . . Both business man and professor were surprised, the one that mere professors should have the temerity to question his business practices . . . and the other that freedom should be denied him in this realm just as he appeared to be winning it elsewhere. It had not occurred to most professors to question accepted theory and practice. But those who did voice criticism found themselves subjected to many subtle discomforts, in some cases even dismissal or threats of dismissal." (Beale, "A History of Freedom of Teaching")

(11) "Most American universities, though they are run by businessmen, are always on the edge of bankruptcy, and if it were not for occasional windfalls they would slip over. The trustees seldom have anything to do with bringing down these windfalls; they are fetched by members of the faculty—either by making a noise in the world professionally, or by making a noise otherwise. In one of the greater American universities a single member of the faculty has raised more money during the past thirty years than all of the trustees combined," comments H. L. Mencken in "Babbitt in the Athenaeum". Possibly he had in mind Shaler at Harvard, who brought McKay's five millions to the University. Thomas Lamont is credited with starting the Alumni Fund after the war, which ran to 20 millions but came from thousands of graduates.

Concern in England over the administration of universities is reflected in the *London Journal of Education*, Nov., 1942, which editorially remarks, "In times of rapid social change, the problems which confront universities are many and complex . . . but the administrative apparatus of our British Universities is not well adapted to the initiation of radical departures from the conventional pattern . . . we would do well to direct our attention at conditions in other lands. For this reason, we publish . . . articles surveying university education in the U.S.A. . . . Professor Adair . . . puts his finger on the main source of danger to which American Universities stand exposed: domination by powerful financial and industrial interests. While this produces a system which responds quickly . . . it also tends . . . to produce one which accepts the less admirable ideals of a business community dedicated to self-advancement through unfettered competition."

(12) In the universities there is much talk of academic freedom, and occasionally an individual who does more than make a grandstand play. President Livingston Farrand of Cornell told his Cornell alumni in February, '37, "If we had not had a few communists and radicals in Cornell, I would have gone out and found them. If we did not have Faculty members who could not see something wrong in our economic system, I would go out and get some." The Harvard

Bulletin, reporting, apologized for anyone so bold and free by saying, "This of course was simply President Farrand's method of emphasizing the need for a spirit of nonconformity and free inquiry in education". (Cf Handbook of Private Schools, 21st ed., 1937, pp 161-164 "Keeping Teachers Timid", pp 165-168 "The Control of Education", pp 169-171 "The Academic Mind")

(13) From "The Need of Administrative Changes in the American University", by George T. Ladd of Yale, *Popular Science Monthly*, April, 1912, republished in Cattell's "University Control". "The obstacles arising from the existing form of administration, on the part of the trustees, are chiefly due to ignorance, indifference and a species of cowardice which too often takes the fashion of reluctance to oppose the president or the majority of their colleagues on the governing board, or even to inquire too curiously into the motives or the significance of the measures brought before them by their presiding officer."

(14) "The Administrative Peril in Education", *Popular Science Monthly*, Nov., 1912, reprinted in Cattell's "University Control". Jastrow quotes a contemporary editorial in the *Springfield Republican* which declared that the prevailing system "does not attract strong men to the profession of teaching, nor does it foster a vigorous intellectual life in the universities. And occasionally a gross and tyrannical abuse of authority reminds the world how far America is behind Germany in the freedom of its university life."

"Elsewhere throughout the world the university is a republic of scholars, administered by them. Here it is a business corporation", Jastrow quotes from an editorial in the *Popular Science Monthly*, and remarks, "The prevalent system of university control has been called 'externalism'. Authority rests ultimately and, so far as they choose to exert it, constantly with the governing boards or regents."

(15) In "Closer Relations Between Trustees and Faculty", *Science*, Dec. 29, 1905, republished in Cattell's "University Control", Munroe declared, "Today, the leaders of the country are not, as formerly, the great statesmen and clergymen; they are these modern Caesars—the heads of our principal colleges and universities. . . . The complexity and autocracy of the American university have converted the strongest men of the faculty—the men, therefore, whose personal influence upon the students would be of the highest value—into subordinate administrators harassed with details of department maintenance and committee attendance. . . . This throws the severest strain of the college upon the weakest part, and from it arises much of our educational ineffectiveness."

(16) Long famed as one of the most liberal college presidents, Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina, in his convocation address, Sept. 25, 1942, gave evidence of the influences that now inspire college officials. Praising "the corporation" from which all blessings flow, he gave an idealistic picture of what the universities should be but presented it as already realized. He found it within himself or his compulsions to say, "The university is the treasure house and transmitter of the spiritual heritage of the race, is the training center for the development of the body and mind of youth."

"The university, as the historic guardian of the cultural heritage, as the frontier

of free inquiry, as the agency of the commonwealth in serving all the needs of the people, as the creative center of youthful development and hopes, humane, ethical, individual, universal, and spiritual, is a synthesis of the issues for which the youth of America fight. The university of the people is an outpost against the counter-revolution, a focus of civilization, and a chief stake of this revolutionary, total, global war." (*School and Society*, Oct. 24, 1942)

(17) "The Academic Man: A Study in the Sociology of a Profession" (Oxford University Press) is blurbed by the publisher as the first attempt since Veblen to present the folkways and mores of the academic profession. But it falls far short of anything like an exhaustive or conclusive or comprehensive survey of the universities. First, it is by an academic, who is only partially awakened to a consciousness of the folkways he follows. Moreover he has avoided anything that might be construed as either "praise" or "pique".

Consideration of forces and influences from outside that affect the universities is avoided. Where they are mentioned their importance is deprecated. "Abraham Flexner, who has been greatly influenced by Veblen, likens the organization of a modern American university to that of a department store purveying 'excellence as well as mediocrity and inferiority'. . . . To say that 'the university is conceived as a business house dealing in merchantable knowledge, placed under the governing hand of a captain of erudition, whose office it is to turn the means in hand to account in the largest feasible output', as Veblen states it, is rather a crotchety conclusion." Under the title "Homo Academicus" in the *Journal of Higher Education*, Nov., 1942, two reviews of Wilson's book are printed. One, by an Oberlin College professor, is in the evasive, desiccated, supercilious style of the academic man. The other by the editor, W. W. Charters, shows elation at "a book which tells the truth but does not tell the whole truth about the profession . . . in . . . a profession so bleak, so forbidding, and so trivial that only timesavers would want to endure it". But Charters points out that "many professors find satisfaction in the enthusiastic teaching of groups of bright young people" and that "they do not punch a time clock".

John Andrew Rice, who loved teaching, in his, "I Came Out of the Eighteenth Century" (Harper, 1942), tells of his experiences in many colleges and universities. He gives us some striking portraits of academic men he has known while showing his own "hopeless inadequacy as a college professor. . . . Truth is far too precious a thing to be thrown around recklessly. . . . Describing things and people with photographic accuracy is persuasive, but in a college professor it may be pernicious. It tends to educate, or at least to inform, his colleagues and no nepenthe can 'drown the memory of that insolence'." (Quoted from the review by Gerald W. Johnson in the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, Nov., 1942)

(18) "Why should the anthropologists and psychologists and psychiatrists today spend their talent on recognized criminals, the hopelessly insane, or island isolated primitives? A study of our all highest, our university presidents and their faculties, their behavior, mores, folklore, myths, would yield richer results than the study of the population of our penitentiaries. Such a survey would be of more

immediate value to the world than any the scientists are likely to undertake. It is an absurdity that we should do for the criminal and the insane, the poorest and the least hopeful, what we deny our best.

"This may be a bold suggestion. But with tact it might be successfully undertaken. There would be a lot of sputtering and spilling, and a gloom of pessimism as to the results of such a study, a pessimism perhaps not wholly justified. To have faith that some good would come of this, one need not believe too fully in the possibility of the redemption of the educated, or that the philosophical could be turned to contemplation of reality, or that men of 'principles' would discard them." (*Handbook of Private Schools*, 22d ed., 1938, p 86)

(19) These words of Conant we enthusiastically quoted in the 21st edition, 1937, of the *Handbook of Private Schools*. The following year gave evidence that this was a stance that he could not possibly hold and at the same time carry out what was expected of him as a college president, without losing his balance. In the 22d, 23d, and 24th editions we continued our attempt to throw light on the forces that were molding the policy of Harvard as well as academic mores and fetishes.

"Bewilderment at Harvard" incident to the "Academic Freedom, 1937 Model" that accompanied the Walsh-Sweezy dismissal, led to inferences that Harvard was "Starving the Social Sciences", that the aim was "Security, Not Freedom" and that to this end "Keeping Teachers in Line" was tacitly necessary. (22d ed., 1938)

"The Great American Folk-Festival"—Commencement, "College Ritual", "Academic Mythology", the pursuit of "Truth" and the "Fetish of Scholarship" serve as compensations and soporifics for academics constrained to comply with such arbitrary regulations. (23d ed., 1939)

Partly because of this dream-world escape way of life, the universities are "An Easy Mark", they "Promote War", the poor president vacillates, the dead hand continues to control. (24th ed., 1940)

(20) "An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World" (Revised edition, Reynal & Hitchcock, 1941), is a volume of 1278 pages, of encyclopedic grasp, characteristic of the erudition and industry of the author, who produces about two such books a year. During the first World War he wrote propaganda for the Creel Bureau, then he came to understanding and repentance, and under the aegis of President Neilson of Smith, as was Sidney Fay, each in his separate way exposed the generally accepted falsehoods. Barnes has continued while Fay has conformed. So Barnes has been without academic appointments. That's the standard punishment for writing with intelligent honesty. The records of the American Association of University Professors are replete with such cases.

(21) "Academic Freedom", a jingle inspired by the post-war red-baiting in the colleges by the Lusk Committee, and following the model laid down by Lewis Carroll in "Sylvie and Bruno", went: "He thought he saw the naked truth come to him in a dream. 'It is suppressed desire', he cried, and gave a startled scream. 'Swear you are not', he said, entranced, 'as lovely as you seem'."

HOW FOUNDATIONS INFLUENCE

'Bread and circuses' for the Roman mob came from private largesse as well as from the public treasury. Politically ambitious conquerors returning for their triumphs won applause from the people by their largesse for public festivities.

'Almsgiving' is an ancient practice of Oriental origin, perpetuated and sanctified by the Roman Church. In England by Henry VIII's time so much had been donated to win favor in Heaven through the Church that the Church had absorbed nearly half the substance of the realm.(1)

'Philanthropy' is a modern word for a modern conception. The etymology suggests love of one's fellow men. In the high tide of 19th century praise of wealth, Elbert Hubbard wrote of the Yankee who became a London banker, "George Peabody was the world's first philanthropist. Up to this time philanthropy was palliative; now it seeks to lay hold on the age to come." (2)

The generosity of the wealth, the dependence of education and culture on their benefactions, have been used as a defense for our financial and industrial system. But though the advertised millions given sound large, they are insignificant when compared with our national income, and in these days of expenditure of hundreds of billions they seem petty indeed.(3)

The great fortunes which accumulated after the Civil War were the result of unregulated financial and industrial activity. Charles Francis Adams, returning from his ambassadorship to Great Britain, bitterly wrote in 1871 that the five years that succeeded the war "have witnessed some of the most remarkable examples of organized lawlessness, under the forms of law, which mankind has yet had an opportunity to study".(4)

Gabriel in his "Democratic Thought" seventy years later, reviewing the period, fully endorsed this contemporary view. Never had industrial capitalism "developed in so rich an environment with so few legal or political restrictions. . . . The new chieftains created not only new techniques of exploitation, of promotion, and of management, but also new customs and a new mental outlook."

This was the age of "The Robber Barons", when Jay Gould looted the

railways, Morgan got his start in unsavory war contracts, Rockefeller ruthlessly destroyed competitors, Whitney bought 'the boodle aldermen'. Carnegie, Sage, Rogers, and Huntington, all perpetrated their own special economic iniquities, as told by Josephson. (5)

Calvinism, developing in Scotland, had influenced our Protestant ancestors to pray the Lord to "prosper" them. To those whom the Lord prospered excessively, wealth eventually became a burden on the conscience of some. Out of colleges which had prospered by donations from the wealthy came the 'gospel of wealth'. Among the foremost of its preachers were Presidents McCosh of Princeton and Porter of Yale, who sought to justify the current practices.

"Porter would put the sanction of religion behind property rights. 'God has bestowed upon us certain powers and gifts which no one is at liberty to take from us or to interfere with', affirmed James McCosh in 1892. 'All attempts to deprive us of them is theft. Under the same head may be placed all purposes to deprive us of the right to earn property or to use it as we see fit,' " writes Professor Gabriel, who admirably summarizes the 'gospel of wealth' so widely preached and generally accepted during the 19th century. (6)

Andrew Carnegie in 1889 had published an article "Wealth", later republished in a volume entitled "The Gospel of Wealth and Other Essays" (1906), which Gabriel calls "a formulation of a philosophy for the new era. . . . The congeries of social beliefs which he called the gospel of wealth stemmed primarily from the laissez-faire attitude of the nineteenth century" and "was erected upon a theory of property which had its most elaborate development in that Scottish commonsense philosophy dominating the intellectual atmosphere of most American colleges and universities in the decades immediately following Appomattox. . . .

"The gospel of wealth assumed that the poor, the less fortunate in the competition of the market, would accept the leadership of the men who, rising to the top, became the industrial barons of the day."

Industry and thrift had been preached by Cotton Mather. Diligence was a moral duty to Franklin's "Poor Richard". In Sunday School children were taught to sing, "Work, for the night is coming". So ingrained was this gospel that it has taxed the talents of the New Dealers to promote the idea that spending is virtuous, that thrift is vicious hoarding.

Bishop Lawrence as late as 1900 still preached this 'gospel'. "In the long run, it is only to the man of morality that wealth comes. . . . That

is my answer to the question as to the relation of material prosperity to morality."

John D. Rockefeller, attributing his good works to his belief in this 'gospel', proclaimed, "The good Lord gave me my money, and how could I withhold it from the University of Chicago". But it was not until after the mob started for his home at Tarrytown that he employed Ivy Lee, to whom he owed this inspiration. Lee, so started, created the art of building good will for persecuted millionaires. It was easier to show Rockefeller how to give millions to Dr. Harper than how to carry dimes in his pockets to give away without pinching them.(7)

After Carnegie sold out his steel interests to Morgan, his benefactions for peace, education, and general philanthropic purposes multiplied, each endowed with a liberal bloc of the 5% steel bonds. It was his wise intent to dispose of his wealth before his death, an ambition which he very nearly achieved.

Like the earlier philanthropists, his love was not only for his fellow men, but to see in granite over the portals of thousands of buildings 'Carnegie Public Library', which he left for others to supply with books. He personally had given \$43,000,000 in this way, nearly \$4,000,000 of it for college library buildings, established the Carnegie Institute of Technology at Pittsburgh, the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Then in 1911 he formed the Carnegie Corporation as a sort of holding company, to the first board of which he appointed himself and eight personal friends. His executive committee, which consisted of himself, Elihu Root, his legal mentor, and Robert A. Franks, his financial agent, insured that his personal wishes would be carried out.(7a)

The most painful way to part with acquired wealth is to give it to the government. The tax collector has been an object of hatred through the ages. The moderate amounts the Federal Government needed were largely secured through excise taxes on liquors and tobacco, the only 'internal revenue' then raised, and customs on foreign imports. Both served to restrict certain luxuries to the wealthy and the latter to protect the 'infant industries' of these millionaires and the 'full dinner pail' of the working man. Local governments could be reasoned with, the assessments reduced.

The first attempt at an income tax was regarded with holy horror by those who believed in the gospel of wealth and the nine supremely wise

men, as was expected, declared it unconstitutional.

The final legalization of the income tax by the Supreme Court was looked upon as a socialistic measure confiscating hard-earned wealth. It was up to them to devise means of preserving their wealth from the uses dictated by politicians. 'Tax exempt securities' became popular and absorbed and still hold a vast amount of accumulated idle capital. 'Trusts', undistributed profits, 'reserves', depreciation, self-incorporation, corporations and trusts in the Bahamas, have served to protect from confiscatory taxation a large share of surplus wealth.

It became an increasingly important function of the legal profession not only to devise ways and means of evading the laws as they stood but to devise new laws which should be provided with holes for escape. To this end new tax legislation was protracted in Congressional committees to which the legal representatives of large fortunes could present their propositions.

The philanthropic or educational foundation however, since the century dawned has been so developed as to prove the most effective way of pooling wealth so as to not only escape excessive taxation but at the same time of satisfying the conscience of the donor, magnifying his ego, and imposing his will and pattern on future generations. Some enlightened men, in leaving money for the promotion of some cherished cause, have specified that it should be all spent within a given time. The Julius Rosenwald Fund for Negro education has, as provided, spent the whole fund within twenty-five years. The Rockefeller General Education Board has for some years gradually been liquidating and will soon cease to exist.

Peace foundations offered opportunity for great munitions manufacturers to ease their conscience in the hope of reducing the chances of future wars. Peace societies of altruistic idealists have been characteristic of America for more than a century, but most of them were unendowed. The Nobel Peace Prize was established by the inventor and manufacturer of dynamite. Edwin Ginn, textbook publisher, had the best of intentions in establishing his World Peace Foundation, but it has come under control which has blessed each war as it eventuated.

Carnegie in his Peace Endowment doubtless had in mind maintaining the Pax Britannica. Under President Butler "the Endowment has always carefully refrained from anything so controversial that it might lead to unfavorable criticism. It has concentrated on scholarly pursuits which would not challenge the existing order. . . . No one can read the En-

dowment reports or yearbooks without a disheartening sense of complete futility and utter ineffectuality. It has done nothing toward taking the profits out of war; it has never attacked the bases of economic imperialism, it has made no attempt to show the populations of war-like countries today how their leaders are driving them into war", Coon remarks in "Money to Burn".(8)

At the beginning of the century there were only seven foundations. In thirty years there were hundreds. The Russell Sage Foundation in the 1930 edition of its "American Foundations and Social Welfare" and the 20th Century Fund in "American Foundations and Their Fields" in 1934 recorded a total of 191 foundations. Of less known and recently established funds, 96 additional have been brought to light by the Carnegie Corporation.(9)

"No one knows even the number of chartered foundations in the United States", declared Frederick P. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation. And in his "The Foundation: Its Place in American Life" (Macmillan, 1930) he wrote, "I myself who am professionally interested in such matters and ought to be in a position to secure available information, have been able to obtain nothing whatever regarding three foundations, the announced capitalization of which aggregates seventy-five million dollars".(10)

Some of the great foundations early appealed for Federal charters, the granting of which was bitterly fought and finally denied by Congress. They have had to be satisfied with state charters on the terms desired.(11) Consequently public relations counsel, taking advantage of the ominous prestige attached to the term and the ease of securing state charters, have established many 'foundations'. Some educational foundations were set up in the late twenties on no more solid a base than a margin account. When the brewers were putting on a good will campaign, a number of such fake foundations were set up to advocate and promote their cause in diverse ways.

The Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations, the greatest pools of capital from which the great universities have drawn most of their fertilizing streams, each reported capital of over \$160 million (Raymond Rich Associates, 1939). Fourteen other foundations reported over \$10 million each, and another seventeen over \$4 million each.

"The greatest number of foundations came into existence during those periods when every economic index revealed that both individual and

corporate incomes were so high that the surplus was not needed for capital re-investment purposes", wrote Eduard C. Lindeman in the *New Republic*, Dec. 16, 1936, interpreting his book "Wealth and Culture". Harold Coe Coffman, carrying on the study in his "American Foundations", said, "Foundations are reservoirs of surplus wealth utilized for philanthropic purposes. . . . The cultural importance of redistributed personal wealth is slight." (12)

The ominous possibilities of these foundations early dawned upon the consciousness of suspicious and far-seeing men. "With this financial power in its control, the General Education Board is in position to do what no other body in this country can, at present, even attempt. It can determine largely what institutions shall grow, and, in some measure, what shall stand or decay. . . . Its power will be enormous; it seems as if it might be able really to determine the character of American education," the *Outlook* early warned of these dangers. (13)

Bishop Candler two years later in 1909 declared, "It is not safe for the educational institutions of the country to be under the virtual dominion of fifteen men, however pure they may imagine their intentions to be. . . . Such a centralized educational system is perilous in the extreme."

Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the Industrial Commission investigating the foundations in 1915, characterized them as a "menace to democratic institutions" and suggested that the government might "take back for the people the vast fortunes embezzled from the people".

Brandeis, later appointed to the Supreme Court, was a witness. He has "grave apprehensions of the ultimate effect when control has passed out of the hands at present administering them to those who may not be governed by such excellent intent". (Cf Coon, op cit)

Amos Pinchot in his testimony before the Commission warned, "Nothing is more powerful or subtle than the influence of large donations on institutions depending upon endowments. An instructor who treated with frankness and intelligence the economic system for which the directors stood . . . sooner or later would become convinced that full appreciation of his efforts had been rendered exceedingly improbable . . . because he had committed the error of preaching a doctrine hostile to the sources from which the university had drawn and probably would continue to draw money."

So "powerful or subtle" was the influence that after the first World War, of those drawing salary or hoping for pension from any of these

colleges or universities, hardly a man was still alive enough to even raise a question or voice a suspicion, much less a protest. Apprehension could be found in academic and in intellectual circles, but it seldom reached print so that the individual could be identified.

But Hans Zinsser of the Harvard Medical School, in the *Atlantic*, Feb., 1927, even at that time "in the front rank of the world's bacteriologists" (*Atlantic*), gave voice to these apprehensions in "The Perils of Magnanimity". "In the minds of many . . . a feeling of apprehension is being aroused by the progressively increasing dependence of a great educational system upon one or more centrally controlled funds. . . . If one searches below the surface, the basis for dissatisfaction, often not clearly understood by the critics themselves, may be found in a foreboding that the guidance of medical education is to a considerable extent passing out of the hands of the universities themselves into the hands of a permanent or, at any rate, self-perpetuating body of gentlemen, who, by the very force of the established relations, cannot help extending their influence over all the important centres of American education. . . .

"If higher education is to develop in a wholesome manner it must be free to follow many paths, to experiment in many directions—if necessary, to make its own mistakes. The universities are the normal guardians of educational progress. Their organizations and their considerable resources in expert opinion and educational experience entitle them to autonomy of decision, both as to policy and as to details of method. Limit them in this regard and the future will inevitably pay for it. Left free, they may commit errors, fall behind, or even remain—for periods—unmindful of their obligations." (14)

Harold J. Laski in 1930 in his "Dangers of Obedience" (Harper), regretted the necessity for subservience on the part of college and university authorities in the hope of securing funds or grants from the foundations, of whose administrative personnel he was critical. Cornelia J. Cannon's "Philanthropic Doubts", *Atlantic*, Sept., 1921, had earlier vigorously protested the necessarily conservative influences bound to be exerted by foundations.

A system of pensions for college and university teachers was worked out soon after the organization of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. From the first it aroused bitter opposition as justifying the most ominous premonitions. Joseph Jastrow pointed out that with "no representative of the teaching profession" on its board, (15)

it early "sponsored a report on efficiency in academic affairs", on which the *Electrical World and Engineer* commented, "Its whole tenor was to lay emphasis on the destruction of human intelligence, and to promote that kind of organization which under the guise of uniformity and system effectively suppresses progress".

James McKeen Cattell took a leading part in opposing the pension scheme. Later, in 1917 after his dismissal from Columbia, he wrote, "My criticisms of the Carnegie pensions and of university administration . . . were protests against an economic control that leads to the moral and intellectual enslavement of the teacher". Two years later he published "Carnegie Pensions" (Science Press, 1919), a series of critical articles from leading educators and from committees of the American Association of University Professors.

There had been the greatest complexity and confusion among colleges in the standards and requirements for entrance and accrediting, as explained by Ernest Victor Hollis in "Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education" (Columbia University Press, 1939), a scholarly and restrained treatise. "In 1905 the Carnegie Foundation and the [Rockefeller] General Education Board sought to improve" this condition. "They did not assert their reforming zeal; on the contrary, the General Education Board was profuse in its assertions that it was determined not to interfere with the practices of the institutions with which it cooperated."

President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation, however, with none too subtle emphasis on 'gift', warned, "There would be involved in the administration of this gift a scrutiny of education which would not only be desirable in the granting of pensions, but would go far to resolve the confusion that then existed in American higher education". "The desire for the money caused colleges to seek the scrutiny of the Foundations", Hollis adds.

How enormously powerful this increasing influence of the hope of pension or the fear of being deprived was on key men in the academic world, is revealed in the summary given in "Forty Years of Carnegie Giving". "Since 1905, the Foundation has disbursed to more than 3,100 persons, some \$39,000,000 in free retiring allowances, disability allowances, and widows' pensions in 168 colleges, universities and technical schools in the United States and Canada. In 1940, allowances and pensions were being paid to 1,542 persons, and 1,905 persons remained on

the Foundation list as having expectations of award of retiring allowances." (16)

From 1922 to 1941 the Carnegie Corporation was under the direction of Frederick P. Keppel, who brought to the Corporation wisdom and intellectual dignity, reflected in his reports, which show a broad and liberal policy. Since his retirement in 1941, Walter A. Jessup has administered the Corporation in addition to the Foundation, which he has long headed. Jessup as early as 1934 in his report as president of the Foundation wryly remarked that "a college might well be judged by the answer to this question, What does it actually do to its students?"—which might be interpreted that a college that was to come to judgment for money would be careful to do to its students what the Foundation would approve.

President Keppel of the Corporation in his 1940 report expressed "our present concern for the safety and welfare of our country" and "the training of men and women . . . to understand and participate in the steps essential to maintaining the democratic way of life". Large grants were made to the American Association for Adult Education, which "it may be expected . . . will play an increasingly useful part in our national life".

Grants are today made to associations and institutions and listed as such. That is the result of experience, and it is wise and strategic,—though of course it is individuals who get and use the money.

In his last report, for 1941, President Keppel emphasized, "It is today realized that a grant which helps only a single institution is not an ideal grant, and for that reason exemplary influence, or prestige if one prefers, is today deliberately given more weight in the selection of institutions than financial need." Also "it is well to remember that conspicuous omission of any institution in a field of activity in which it has earned an honorable place may be a serious disservice".

President Keppel stressed that in the current emergency, "foundations no longer avoid fields which will bring them into contact with government or business, but are eager to seek the cooperation of both."

Elihu Root, Jr., is given credit for the allocation of \$500,000 to be used in connection with "the current national emergency". That of course was in the promotion of the political and international purposes in which he his firm and colleagues were so actively interested. This money was distributed through the Council on Foreign Relations, Common Council for American Unity, Institute for Advanced Study, American Council on Education, and the National Bureau of Economic Research.

"It is too soon to appraise the influence of these additional emergency enterprises, but it is believed that here too the Corporation will have made a useful contribution." Always it is emphasized, "practically every grant . . . is for an educational purpose".

Grants were extended to England and "The British Dominions and Colonies". The Corporation was "fortunate in the help it has constantly received from" British officials.

"It is more than a coincidence that so many of the men from whom the Corporation has received such great help were members of Milner's Kindergarten, that group of young university men whom Lord Milner gathered round him at the close of the Boer War to help in organizing the Union of South Africa. A photograph of this group taken about 1906 has recently come to light and, in recognition of our debt to its members, is reproduced on the opposite page." (17)

Reviewing his nineteen years as president, Keppel recalls that before 1922 "the Carnegie Corporation alone had voted more than \$88,000,000, including a single gift of \$5,000,000. . . . The finances of many colleges were strengthened by the joint action of the General Education Board and Carnegie Corporation in voting conditional grants for endowment. . . In 1930 and thereafter . . . new and well-directed foundations were coming into production; and the Markle, the Falk, the Buhl, the Kellogg, the Sloan, and the Rackham funds shared the burden to an increasing degree with the older trusts. All foundations were drawn more closely together to their mutual advantage."

From 1924 to June 30, 1941, the Corporation and Foundation made "168 grants totaling \$1,727,708, for 94 projects related to the higher educational level", 17 of which were "pursued in the Foundation offices", 77 in 44 other educational "institutions or bodies", and 3 were abandoned. "Appropriations including conditional grants due for payment in future years total \$14,641,661."

The General Education Board, like the Carnegie Foundation, has broadened its field in the emergency and defense years, to come to the aid of business and government both nationally and internationally. The Congress on Education for Democracy at Columbia in the summer of 1939 was awarded a grant of \$50,000 which covered the expense of bringing over Stanley Baldwin, the Earl of Bewdley, who improved the opportunity to propagandize American educators.

After forty years as one of the most influential organizations in the

recent history of education, the Board has spent most of its Rockefeller funds and is preparing to go out of existence. In the thirty-eight years to 1940 the Board expended a total of \$271,307,835.18,—\$151,786,006.37 from principal and \$119,521,828.81 from income. During 1940 they gave away \$6,529,816,—five million from capital, one-and-a-half million from income.

The board of trustees has included names familiar in the interlocking directorates of financial, philanthropic, and educational foundations and institutions. Over this for years has presided with rare tact Raymond B. Fosdick, who had made his reports of unusual interest. His 1940 report presents a statement from the standpoint of the Board on "What Has Happened in the Care and Education of Youth Since 1930?"

"Purposes of the Program" were "to help make America's provision for the care and education of youth keep step with the major social changes in which the country was engaged. . . . The years since 1933 also saw increasing threats to democratic ideals, to which educators responded by trying to modify educational procedures so as to do a better job both of developing loyalty to democratic ideals and of developing intelligence trained to deal with social problems.

"Hence the original purpose of the Board's program . . . was supplemented by two emerging purposes: to help meet the economic problems of youth, and to help make democracy work better through increased loyalty and more intelligent citizenship on the part of the young people. . .

"The past ten years have seen a noteworthy growth in the belief by educators and laymen that education should be made more explicitly an instrument of social policy. The use of the word 'democracy' in relation to education is an index of this tendency."

"How Have the General Education Board's Activities Been Related to These Happenings?" explains how "Board-aided projects have been associated with nearly all the changes described above. . . . The Board's policy has been to aid responsible groups of educators and citizens", including national associations and "the regional associations of colleges and secondary schools; such state groups as the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, the Michigan State Department of Public Instruction, and the Washington State Planning Council; as well as many universities, colleges, and school systems." (18)

The 1940 report is an unusually frank revelation of how subsidies to educators and educational organizations have helped to inculcate the

Rockefeller ideas of loyalty, intelligence, and democracy. Without such recognition, these educators might have been "aiding in the improvement of formal general education" or enlarging "the ideas of educational theorists about the nature of general education" along quite other lines.

"Where and By Whom was the Money Used?" is the frank title of a section which explains in detail how it was distributed and to what individuals and institutions. Of the total of 8½ millions appropriated, nearly 8 millions went to "organizations and institutions".

"A limited number of fellowships were provided for the training of promising individuals whose work would contribute to the development of institutions and organizations whose programs had a bearing on the Board's interest in general education."

All this money "was spent largely for the salaries of about a thousand professional people who worked for periods ranging from a few months to eight years. These persons actually used the money. . . . These 'advisers' organized the various projects and determined their policies." These school and college administrators, teachers, editorial and literary workers numbered almost 2,000.

An accompanying chart shows that in proportion to the population the money distributed was highest in this order: Middle Atlantic States, New England States, Far Western States, Central States, and Southern States. The amount given the New England and Southern States was approximately equal, but the population of the southern states is about four times as great. More than a third, "almost \$2,400,000 has not been apportioned to geographical regions", but to projects national in scope.

"The Progressive Education Association . . . for use in the Eight Year Study" received large grants. The "thirty schools really used a large part of the funds—for consultant services, conferences, visits by teachers to the headquarters of the Evaluation Staff, etc."

The Educational Policies Commission received \$250,000 for expenses in 1940, to which in 1941 was added \$65,000.

The American Council on Education received \$3,246,727, of which \$1,342,605 was spent through the American Youth Commission, and \$1,098,886 through the Commission on Teacher Education. Under the title "Selection and Education of Teachers", Mr. Fosdick tells us, "In the Cooperative Study thirty-four collegiate institutions and school systems are working on problems of pre-service and in-service education."

Harl R. Douglass in "National Teachers' Examinations—Menace or

swer to Prayer?" in the *Nation's Schools*, June, 1941, writes critically "the N. T. E. enterprise" sponsored by the American Council on Education, that the absence from the sponsoring committee of "a single name among the many who have made substantial contributions to the theory and science of measurement and test construction and interpretation" makes it "savor strongly of academic and professional politics". But this gives opportunity to eliminate the poor teachers that "underbid good teachers in ways other than financial. Lacking ability, they tend to rely on political methods, servility and the prostitution of intellectual, professional and social ideals to the cause of 'staying in' and 'getting ahead'." The earlier premonitions of the influence the great foundations might exert have apparently been realized. But aside from the published researches of Lindemann, Coffman, Coon, and Hollis, there has been little concerted attempt to survey the results. Those who might have continued point out or criticize the dominating influence of the foundations on educational institutions have been intimidated or become part of the system as more college presidents and university officials have been brought to the directing boards.

More and better talent, legally trained too, has been drawn to the service of the foundations which has made them more formidable. This in no way overlooks or deprecates the valuable and beneficent work accomplished, which can hardly be overestimated. It was probably the only way in which equal results could have been attained, considering the state of our political, social, and intellectual development.

How completely foundation trustees represent the dominant type of business man is occasionally brought out by Hollis with some sense of humor in his scholarly work. Their influence has in the social sciences produced a tragic proletariat of quantitative research assistants who multiply descriptions without interpretations. Those who control the foundations are evidently better satisfied to have it that way, and the universities, who need their good will, are compelled to kow-tow. (19) Colleges that do not get foundation support, to survive must look to taxed funds or gifts from tax evaders.

Hollis explained somewhat more frankly in *School and Society*, Jan. 1939, "J. P. Morgan and Company and other financial houses of similar reputation are the advisers and financial agents for the investment counselors of many of the foundations".

The close community of interest between the guardians of wealth and

the supervisors of education here referred to is demonstrated in the exchange of men and influences between the two. This is illustrated in the 1940 report of the Carnegie Corporation, which tells of transfers from the National City Bank to the Corporation Board, from the staff of the Corporation to the Assistant to the President of Harvard University, from the Corporation staff to a great national insurance company. This transfer of trained and conditioned men from financial houses, from the staffs of great corporation lawyers, from industrial boards, to the staffs of the foundations and to administrative positions in the universities, and the reverse, is a means of exerting powerful influence, not always subtle, by financial interests on university administration and educational policies.

We find the same men who administer the foundations on the boards of insurance companies, industrial and banking corporations, peace foundations. Through this interlocking directorate there are direct connections with Washington and Whitehall.

Men of promise in public life, as well as college presidents, nominated to the boards, soon take their tone and color from the leaders in the great financial centers who dominate these foundations. This method of taking in and conditioning those who might be inimical is an art that we have learned from the English, who in turn gained skill in these political methods from India and have improved their techniques these hundred years in controlling the peoples of many races that make up the British Empire. It reflects one phase of the wisdom of the East not too generally understood or appreciated. (20)

A select "Who's Who" presented by Coon shows interlocking affiliations. "Out of 402 trustees the average age was 56.7 years . . . 15% were Harvard graduates, 13% Yale, 8% Princeton, and 5% Columbia . . . 15% were lawyers, 10% corporation executives, 9% bankers, 9% university or college administrators."

These men, Coon remarks, "belong to a very select club. . . . They are . . . the finest flowers of our American culture, and being rather self-conscious about what they are, and particularly self-conscious about the God-given opportunities and blessings of private initiative, they have considered it their duty to perpetuate the culture which has conditioned them.

"The men who run American philanthropic foundations have found early in life the opportunity to be of service, and they have had the intelligence or the astigmatism to call it the service of humanity, or the promotion of education. . . . Their ideas, prejudices, and economic interests

have, in turn, conditioned and are now conditioning the pattern of American culture. . . . Philanthropic and business interests are not merely complementary, they are identical. Just as you can't run a steel mill without machine guns, so you can't run a capitalist democracy without a pretense of philanthropy. . . . American business needs a halo."

The "Control of Higher Education in America", by E. J. McGrath in the *Educational Record*, April, 1936, presents a statistical study of the personnel of boards of trustees. In fifteen private colleges and universities the percentage of businessmen, bankers and lawyers in the seventy years from 1860 to 1930 increased from 27 to 74%.

The interest in education on the part of these men who represent wealth is associated with a period in which wealth most rapidly accumulated. This is a remarkable phenomenon which has unfortunately escaped adequate inquiry. Nothing could be more creditable than that those who have, should be interested in the wise development of the young. And for generations all such have been praised for their public interest and philanthropy.

There can be no sound complaint against these men as such. They are public spirited, responsible servitors of society according to their lights. The complaint, if any, must be against the social organization which permits them to be educated so that their cerebration is within a narrow range.

The wise expenditure of the billions deposited in these foundation pools of wealth, the hundreds of millions annually distributed, has brought great increased power and influence, prosperity and confidence to thousands of educators and educational institutions. The money dispensed has actually gone through the hands of thousands of educators.

But the influence has perhaps been greater on those who have not yet received but still hope to, as Professor Zinsser pointed out. This control has tended to make men and institutions conform, as President Pritchett indicated, to the ideals held by those who administer these funds.

The men in control of these foundations influence what is to be taught and who shall teach. They have the power to determine what universities, colleges, or other educational institutions shall receive or be denied endowments and subsidies, what professors and teachers shall receive grants or pensions.

Because they direct the expenditure of great accumulated wealth, these men exert a tremendous influence on our educational institutions, pub-

lishing houses, newspapers and movies. They act with the great propaganda machines in giving mental content, beliefs, and opinions. They are the men who are responsible for making us 'want' to go to war through the ideas that they promote.

These servants of our financial social system, who appear on the boards of foundations and universities, could not function except for another class who act as servants to those of great wealth. These latter form almost as distinct a caste as the king's courtiers of the seventeenth century. Functionaries, trust officials, tax evasion experts, legally or financially trained, administer the great reservoirs of wealth.(21) They are so trained and conditioned that they are actuated by a spirit of duty in living up to their standards and ideals. Their ability and craft is well rewarded. Sterling, the attorney for the Harkness portion of Standard Oil, accumulated sixty millions, which he left to Yale.

James McKeen Cattell anticipated and warned the educational world repeatedly during the first part of the century of how wealth through the foundations would encroach upon and eventually control our universities. In 1913 he denounced the control of "Wall Street trustees".

"The men of wealth, society leaders and others of the upper classes who direct our educational corporations have their own codes of morals. They may not understand that for the professor or the investigator the most debasing of evils is to suffer a compulsion to suppress or distort the truth as he sees it."(22)

Hans Zinsser in 1927 explained how this later worked out. "The expert and his board have opinions. They also have money. The universities, too, have opinions; but often no money; never enough. The trustee-experts with the money—in all honesty, we are convinced—disavow the desire to impose their own views. . . . But if they do not approve of such organizations, their methods, or intentions, how can they conscientiously give the money? . . . The temptation is great to adjust in the direction that will lead to the needed assistance. . . .(23) Have any of the leaders of individual schools put their pride into their pockets, reconsidered their own decisions, and wandered like Henry the Fourth to Canossa to say, 'Father, I have erred; give me the two millions'?"

NOTES

(1) E. A. Ross in a volume entitled "Intelligent Philanthropy" pointed out that many of our philanthropies and those of England are of little social value,—

"funds left for superannuated woolcarders, but the trade had become extinct".

Abraham Epstein in "Do the Rich Give to Charity?" *American Mercury*, May, 1931, quoting at length from Ross, adds, "Many of our foundations and benevolent institutions are of the same type. Frequently, they are established more for the purpose of perpetuating the name of the donor or for the carrying out of a certain whim than for the social benefits they may provide." Epstein's principal concern is with "What is the real extent of American generosity? Can private philanthropy cope with the current social and economic difficulties? . . . Even a casual study shows that the myth of our unparalleled generosity has no firmer base than the benevolences of a very few men who have distributed small parts of their extraordinarily large fortunes."

(2) "The South Parish of Danvers in 1868 took the name of George Peabody, the banker and philanthropist, born here in 1795. He opened a banking-house in London in 1843, and acquired a princely fortune. He gave Baltimore \$1,400,000 for an institute of literature, science, and the fine arts; the London poor, \$2,500,000; Harvard University, \$150,000 for a museum and a professorship of American archeology and ethnology; Yale College, \$150,000; the Southern Educational Fund, \$2,000,000; and a library to his native town. He also founded the Peabody Institute at Salem. He died in 1869 and after funeral honors in Westminster Abbey his remains were brought to America in a British man-of-war, 'Monarch', and buried in Peabody." (Handbook of New England, 3d ed., Porter Sargent, 1921, pp 548-9)

(3) Lindeman in his "Wealth and Culture" pointed out that "the bulk of wealth thus distributed flows into the treasuries of churches, hospitals, and conventional charities. In short, the cultural importance of redistributed personal wealth is slight. . . . Americans on the whole regard their wealth as personal possessions to be disposed of according to individual interest or fancy."

"By linking up these endowments with science, medicine, engineering, and art, it is possible for those who defend vested wealth to allege that any attack upon property and profits means a blow at all human culture", Harry E. Barnes summarizes in his "Social Institutions: In An Era of World Upheaval" (Prentice-Hall, 1942). This latest of Barnes, probably the best of his many books, fascinates, leads the reader on. There is occasional lightness, but always there is poise, balance, and tremendous erudition.

(4) "Single men at the head of vast combinations of private wealth . . . particularly . . . those controlling the rapidly developed railroad interests . . . have declared war, negotiated peace, reduced courts, legislatures, and sovereign States to an unqualified obedience to their will, disturbed trade, agitated the currency, imposed taxes. . . . Single men have controlled hundreds of miles of railway, thousands of men, tens of millions of revenue, and hundreds of millions of capital. The strength implied in all this they wielded in practical independence of the control both of governments and of individuals; much as petty German despots might have governed their little principalities a century or two ago." (C. F. Adams, *North American Review*, April, 1871)

(5) "The Robber Barons" (Harcourt, Brace, 1934) by Matthew Josephson deals with long suppressed facts of history, particularly of the achievements of the 'strong armed villains of finance' who played so important a part in the organization and development of industry and the breaking in of the new country and its raw populace. It is less scholarly than Gustavus Myers' pioneer work, "History of the Great American Fortunes" (1910), now accepted even in academic circles, or his recent "Ending of Hereditary American Fortunes" (Messner, 1939). Josephson's book is not so impassioned as John McConaughy's "Who Rules America?" (Longmans, Green, 1934), which deals with the time when the people had become aware of earlier "scandals connected with the first Bank of the United States, of Patrick Henry as an old man mixed up with the Yazoo land swindle, of the graft that followed Alexander Hamilton's treasuryship, of how John Jacob Astor borrowed five billion dollars of government money and kept it for twenty years without paying interest" (Handbook of Private Schools, 18th ed., 1934, p 74).

Even in that golden age we had progressed from the time of the Revolution when the great patriot John Hancock as treasurer of Harvard College could loot the college strongbox and refuse to give an accounting. Something of this still lingers in the 'sticks'. In a small town cemetery one may read the epitaph, "His books didn't balance but his heart beat true to the old flag". This man, a pillar of the church and vocal upholder of all that was religious and patriotic in his community, a minor official in a local bank, died impecunious. His friends of the church and chamber of commerce, donating the gravestone, puzzled long over the epitaph.

(6) From "The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History Since 1815" (Ronald Press, 1940) by Ralph Henry Gabriel, Learned Professor of American History, Yale University.

President Mark Hopkins of Williams in his sermon "The Right to Property", 1868, maintained, "The acquisition of property is required by love, because it is a powerful means of benefiting others". The trinity of his doctrine was "individualism, the sanctity of private property, and the duty of stewardship". The Hopkins idea of stewardship appealed to Carnegie, who declared that the solution of "the problem of Rich and Poor" was to leave "the laws of accumulation" and "distribution free. . . . The millionaire will be but a trustee for the poor . . . bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer." Obedience to "the true Gospel concerning Wealth . . . is destined some day to solve the problem of the Rich and the Poor and to bring 'Peace on earth', among men good-will".

Russell Conwell, who founded Temple University in Philadelphia from the profits of his popular lecture "Acres of Diamonds" repeated six thousand times, preached, "To secure wealth is an honorable ambition. . . . Money is power. . . . Get rich, get rich!"

(7) John T. Flynn in "God's Gold: Rockefeller and His Times" (Harcourt, Brace, 1932), reflects contemporary opinion, individual and of the press, concerning the giving of Rockefeller and Carnegie.

John Andrew Rice in his autobiography candidly relates how he passed through a dozen or so schools, colleges and universities. "Black Mountain was born on the wrong side of the blanket, an agent of the Carnegie Foundation told me. . . . The agents of the General Education Board were more consistently cordial and skillfully evasive. . . . They were as forthright as men in their predicament could be. . . . Carnegie and Rockefeller were the two greatest buccaneers of their day, ruthless, unscrupulous, insatiable. . . . On the first day of creation in America man had started to work on the land, had subdued it, pegged it to his use; on the second, their day, man set to work on man, with the same dogged will. At the end of that day—it is over now, I think—they were named the foremost pirates in history. But they wanted another name; they knew that in time their piracy would be forgiven. . . . They would create, not build, a new kind of memorial, within humanity, a memorial that should itself be a creator, creating and re-creating on into time. That was their hope." (pp 314-6)

(7a) While Carnegie's name is carved in granite over library portals, others sought to write their names among the stars. The professional astronomer has had no illusion about the philanthropists who in endowing observatories have sought to satisfy their vanity and selfishness, to buy off an offended public, to escape taxation, or to indulge the donor's desire to do good and be good. John Quincy Adams long advocated government establishment of astronomical observatories. In his old age he travelled by rail, canal and stage to dedicate the first American observatory in Cincinnati, a city of German culture (Cf Rukeyser's "Willard Gibbs", Doubleday Doran, 1942). In other countries observatories were generally supported by the government. But it is private donors who have put America in the forefront of astronomical advance.

The Yerkes Observatory, first of these personal monuments, commemorates the man who manipulated the street railway system of Chicago, to cause eventual unhappiness of the citizens. James Lick, California millionaire, was averted from erecting an absurd monument to himself by a friend who pointed out that an astronomical monument would be more effective, and so we have the Lick Observatory. The International Harvester family is memorialized in the McCormick Observatory, a Texas eccentric in the McDonald Observatory. A Toronto industrialist bestowed upon his energetic widow a social plaything in the great David Dunlap Observatory.

(8) Carleton Beals in "Glass Houses" (Lippincott, 1938) pays his respects. "It is a very equivocal organization, careful never to air any of the root causes of war in any way to endanger vested interests or profit-making, and is always pro-British." And Ezra Pound in his "Guide to Kulchur" (Faber and Faber, 1938) adds this note,— "The Carnegie Peace endowment does not mean peace. It means a tax of half a million dollars a year on the American producing public, for the benefit of one of the most useless, null and generally despicable secretariats ever allowed to infect the planet."

The Hon. George Holden Tinkham of Massachusetts in the U.S. House of Representatives, Feb. 3, 1933, said, "The largest and formidable promoters of the

subversive, disloyal, and seditious movement against American independence and American neutrality are (1) the so-called Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which has an endowment of \$10,000,000 supplemented by the endowment of \$125,000,000 of the Carnegie Corporation, and (2) the John D. Rockefeller interests and the Rockefeller Foundation, with an endowment of \$165,000,000."

(9) In his "Money to Burn: What the Great American Foundations do with their Money" (Longmans, Green, 1938), Horace Coon, formerly an instructor of English at Columbia, gives a comprehensive discussion of the question of surplus wealth and its public use. His "Philanthropy from the Grave", separately published in *Forum*, tells us there are "many more about which the public hears little until some millionaire transfers the shares of a holding company or a railroad empire to his newly formed foundation. . . . We may expect that the number of foundations will increase rapidly since this is one of the most convenient methods by which millionaires may escape income and inheritance taxes and dispose of their wealth in such a way that the government will get no large part of it."

(10) "American Foundations: A Study of Their Role in the Child Welfare Movement" (Association Press, 1936), was a dissertation for the doctorate at Columbia. "In order to secure the figures of resources and disbursements of certain of the foundations it was necessary to promise to keep them confidential, and to use them only in combination with the figures received from other foundations", Coffman reported, explaining his method of presentation. Much of his material was taken from Lindemann's "Wealth and Culture" (Harcourt, Brace, 1936). To collect the necessary information on these hundred foundations which in ten years spent half a billion dollars influencing conservative educational institutions, it took eight years. Lindemann wrote, "My first surprise was to discover that those who managed foundations and trusts did not wish to have these instruments investigated. Had it occurred to me then that it would have required eight years of persistent inquiry at a wholly disproportionate cost to disclose even the basic quantitative facts desired, I am sure that the study would have been promptly abandoned."

(11) In "Private Fortunes and the Public Future", *Atlantic*, Aug. 1935, Abraham Flexner reminds us that while we owe our system of education and research to private initiative, we are now "living in an era when, in consequence of human gullibility and fallibility, the world has been overtaken by panic and distress such as private initiative alone cannot cope with". Private initiative is not yet dead, but it is not liable to as great abuses as in the past, often protected by state charters.

"Buck" Duke, of tobacco and power fame, was perhaps the most skilful in protecting the fortune he left. Flexner explains that the Duke Power Company supplies most of the income for the Duke Foundation, which maintains Duke's benefactions to churches, hospitals, universities, colleges, all tied up with the Doris Duke Trust so that any decrease in the income of the Duke Power Company immediately brings protest from the educational, religious and health organizations.

Flexner's autobiography "I Remember" (1940) is replete with evidences of his tact in aiding the possessors of wealth to disgorge it into foundations where it

could be tapped and used. Perhaps no other ever knew so much and so intimately the affairs of our universities, the great foundations, their donors and intermediaries.

(12) The increase of income and estate taxes on the one hand, wages to labor and dividends to stockholders on the other, have reduced the surpluses formerly pooled in foundations. Now labor organizations are coming to have surplus for such purposes. "The Congress of Industrial Organizations will contribute between \$8,000,000 and \$10,000,000 next year to relief and social agencies, it is estimated by Monroe Sweetland", National Director of the C.I.O. Committee for War Relief, at the fifth national convention of the C.I.O. at the Hotel Statler, Boston. This makes the C.I.O. "one of the biggest donors in the country". (It will be recalled that the Miners' Union, the original nucleus of the C.I.O., contributed \$500,000 to Mr. Roosevelt's election fund in 1936.) As Sweetland reminded his hearers, "The unions have now begun to assume broader social responsibilities. . . . The American Federation of Labor is setting up a parallel program with Matthew Woll at its head." (*Chr Sci Monitor*, Nov. 6, 1942)

(13) This is from the *Outlook* as quoted in a pamphlet by Edward Ingle in 1907, in Howard K. Beale's "A History of Freedom of Teaching in American Schools" (Scribner, 1941). Beale continues to quote from Bishop Warren A. Candler's pamphlet, "Dangerous Donations and Degrading Doles":

"It is such a concentration of power in the matter of the highest interests of the nation as no fifteen men, however wise and virtuous, can be trusted to exercise without abusing it to the furtherance of their own views and interests and to the injury of those who do not agree with them in interest or opinion."

The *Manufacturers' Record* of Baltimore, as quoted by Bishop Candler, protested: "Control, through possession of the millions massed in the Educational Trust, of two or three or four times as many millions of dollars in education makes possible control of the machinery and the methods of education. It makes it possible for the central controlling body to determine the whole character of American education, the textbooks to be used, the aims to be emphasized. . . . It gives the financial controller power to impose upon its beneficiaries its own views, good or bad, and thereby to dominate public opinion in social, economic, and political matters. For, it would dominate the source of public opinion, the educational system of the country."

(14) Zinsser goes on, "Since in our opinion, this apprehension is based on more than the unworthy caution of suspicious natures, we believe that it should be aired in frank discussion instead of being allowed to ferment in the dark corners of vague and irritated criticism. Our remarks do not apply to the Rockefeller organizations alone. The General Education Board idea has appealed to other philanthropists; and for this every sensible medical man should be grateful. But the best way to show gratitude . . . is to contribute what one can to the reaping of the healthiest crop from the generous sowing. . . ."

"There are [those] . . . who see in the situation the sinister tentacles of the octopus reaching for power. The situation is much simpler than that, and less

dramatic. There is merely a group of conscientious and well-informed gentlemen who have taken over the arduous duties and responsibilities in connection with a fund which they are trusted to spend wisely and without too much delay. . . .

"A number of factors in the situation . . . are causing misgivings in the minds of the thoughtful. . . . Foremost . . . is this inevitable development of a power, superimposed upon the organized educational system of the country, which—however benevolent in its autocracy—must still retain the last word in any question in which its opinions differ from local judgments. . . .

"We know and repeat that none of these tendencies are deliberately intentional; but that they are bound to eventuate we must also endeavor to make clear."

In the *Atlantic* there appeared serially "As I Remember Him: The Story of R. S.", later published by Little, Brown, 1940. This, without confession, was the brilliant autobiography of Dr. Zinsser, written while he was dying of a lingering cancerous blood disease.

(15) The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching was devoted to the cause of higher education. The board of trustees appointed by Carnegie included great college presidents, like David Starr Jordan, Charles W. Eliot, William R. Harper, Woodrow Wilson, Charles F. Thwing. The standard was so high that of course it could not be maintained after they passed.

(16) Robert M. Lester, Secretary of the Carnegie Corporation, in "Forty Years of Carnegie Giving: A Summary of the Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie and of the Work of the Philanthropic Trusts Which He Created" (Scribner, 1941), gives from his inside view "a succinct and uniform record of Mr. Carnegie's personal philanthropies and an authoritative statement of the purposes, policies, and organization of each of the major trusts created by him, with a summary record of their grants and other financial operations from the time of their establishment through the fiscal year ending in 1940."

(17) After the Boer War, the first threat to British Empire security, Lord Milner, government representative in South Africa and later executor of Rhodes' will, gathered a group whom he inspired and trained in Rhodes' new imperialism. Milner's young men, most of them Oxonians, became builders of empire. Their achievements are described in "What Makes Lives" (Porter Sargent, 1940), pp 141-2.

(18) Appendix IA lists on 7 pages the institutions and projects through which these millions were disbursed in the seven years 1933-1940. Approximately $7\frac{1}{4}$ millions were distributed through five organizations as follows,—American Council on Education approximately $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions, Progressive Education Association $1\frac{2}{3}$ millions, American Youth Commission $1\frac{1}{3}$ millions, National Educational Association $\frac{1}{2}$ millions, New York State Regents $\frac{1}{2}$ millions. In addition numerous associations, organizations, universities, colleges, high schools, private schools have received grants of from \$265,000 to \$1000.

In Appendix IB are listed on 10 pages the separate institutions and organizations that received aid indirectly from the Board grants through the organizations mentioned in Appendix IA.

Appendix II lists some 92 publications from 1936 to 1940 resulting from these grants. Some of these are of value, but it is a fairly safe generalization to say that with a few notable exceptions, the number of readers has hardly exceeded the number of the grantees.

These appropriations give evidence that the money distributed has trickled into the pockets of thousands, and thousands more have hoped for the trickle.

(19) For justification of these statements, cf Harry Elmer Barnes, "Social Institutions" (Prentice Hall, 1942), Robert S. Lynd, "Knowledge for What?" (Princeton University Press, 1939), Robert Keen Lamb, "Harvard Starves the Social Sciences", *The Nation*, May 15, 1937; "Human Affairs, 1938" (Porter Sargent, 1938), pp 57-60.

(20) A crude, rather brutal presentation of how the president of a great university in need of funds has been obliged to bend the knee to financial forces that play around him is given in the *New Republic*, May 18, 1942. President Wriston of Brown University, who probably is naturally of liberal mind and still makes a good show of being a free man, is represented as a tool of the National Association of Manufacturers; as a front for Harry Byrd's Senate Committee to Investigate Non-Essential Expenditures, whose purpose is to cut out all expenditure for social services. His name is further used in connection with a "Tax Foundation" controlled by Morgan men, whose aim is "to further public understanding germane to economy in public finance", which means to keep down taxation on large incomes. President Wriston is secretary of the Carnegie Foundation, and the interlocking directorates of the other members of the board and industrial houses are revealed.

(21) "In tribal times, there were the medicine-men. In the Middle Ages, there were the priests. Today there are the lawyers. For every age, a group of bright boys, learned in their trade and jealous of their learning, who blend technical competence with plain and fancy hocus-pocus to make themselves masters of their fellow men." (Rodell, "Woe Unto You, Lawyers!")

(22) Butler, to whom Cattell later referred in a letter to the Faculty Club as "our much climbing and many talented president", attacked Cattell and endeavored to have him removed. During the war while he was working on mental tests for the army, and his son had enlisted and gone to France, Cattell wrote members of Congress advocating exemption of conscientious objectors from service in Europe. Drunken soldiers raided his house. He was summarily dismissed together with the mild and gentle professor of Comparative Literature, H. W. L. Dana, on the grounds of "treason", "sedition", and "opposition to the enforcement of the laws of the U. S."

Cattell brought suit against the President and Trustees, "who violate the intellectual integrity of university teachers and turn a temple into a house of ill-fame". After five years of litigation the courts awarded the pension allowance for which he fought.

(23) No one will attempt to deny that the appropriations of these great foundations have on the whole been wisely placed. In the early days of the grants of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, many a dying hope, many a worthy project

was saved by keeping on the job some impecunious researcher. Science has been advanced, disease eliminated, health improved through money granted by the great foundations. In the latter days of the great foundations, projects like the Progressive Education Association's 'Thirty Schools' have been made possible. But the effect on the whole has been stabilizing, restricting, fettering.

"You and Zinsser both worry quite appropriately about the influence on the colleges (and perhaps on science and scholarship) of the 'men of measured merri-ment'. They are decent (generally), idealistic, socially correct, and necessarily narrowed by the education and culture they have indulged in. Neither of you point out a cure. Probably both of you realize that a partial corrective lies in calling attention to the limited vision such men must have.

"The world owes an enormous debt to these foundations. . . . Without these gifts, and these hopes of gifts, a considerable amount of the research that we now consider important would have been greatly delayed, or possibly not carried out at all. The terrible lethargy of college administrations towards creative research is one of the appalling prices we pay for electing republicans to boards of trustees. The hope of a new dormitory, or a playing field, or a scholarship aimed at 'building of character' would have stupefied scholarship and scientific research in nearly all American institutions as it has done in the provincial English university, if it had not been for the foundations' (I am referring only to three or four) insistence on the value of increasing knowledge." (This is necessarily quoted anonymously from a letter written me in December, 1942, after reading this chapter, by one of the most respected professors in a great American university who has been closely identified with these foundations)

Perhaps the richest academy in the world is the American Philosophical Society. A committee of foremost scientists and scholars gives out one hundred thousand dollars a year in small grants to individuals. The grantees must shape their researches and their pleas for financial assistance to meet the prejudices and standards of the committee. While the committee members admit they are making "professional mendicants", they are probably doing better than would bureaucrats or politicians.

HOW GOVERNMENTS PERPETUATE THEMSELVES

There are but three ways in which an individual, a group, or a government can exert influence on the behavior of another individual, group, or government,—by physical force, the power of life and death through the military or police,—by economic pressure, again the power of life and death through starvation,—or by changing the attitude of the other individual, group, or government.(1)

This latter may be accomplished by changing the mental content either by persuasion or by imitation, by bribing or by example. Other terms may be used to designate all of these. They may all be reduced to chemical terms. Or one may speak in moral terms, or theological, but those have no force without fear behind them and hope ahead, fear of death or hope of survival. Again, one may speak in political terms of rights, or in legal terms of law. But law has no force without force behind it.(2)

Those who control any group or institution, governmental, ecclesiastical, or educational, who would retain their power must consciously or unconsciously, of themselves or through their janizaries, recognize education, that is the conditioning of the minds of the growing generation, as a means of perpetuating their own power. If you look at Mussolini it becomes perfectly clear. We accuse the other dictators of the same thing. When we look homeward it is more difficult to see.

There are numerous theories of education held up by idealists and utopians. Some treat of it as an intellectual matter having to do with storing, stocking, and training minds. The anthropologist looks upon it as the process of transmitting the culture from the older generation to the new, the theologian as a preparation for a future life after death.

'Theories of government' too have been evolved among those more interested in their own cerebral operations than in observation of realities. University courses in the subject deal largely with theories of the state, or of sovereignty. Scholarly treatises continue to be added to the miles of library shelving devoted to these subjects. These constitute the first line of defense for governmental authorities. By immersing the young in such theories and distracting their attention from the practices and behavior of those who control governments, academicians avoid trouble.

The difference between 'theories of government' and an examination of government as it is, Bacon more than 300 years ago saw and stated clearly in his "Novum Organum",—"The roads to human power and to human knowledge lie close together and are nearly the same; nevertheless, on account of the pernicious and inveterate habit of dwelling on abstractions, it is safer to begin and raise the sciences from those foundations which have relation to practice, and let the active part be as the seal which prints and determines the contemplative counterpart". And "On the Advancement of Learning" Bacon observed, "Philosophers make imaginary laws for imaginary commonwealths, and their discourses are as the stars which give little light because they are so high."

E. H. Carr, who reprints the above quotations as a frontispiece to his earlier book, in his latest, "Conditions of Peace" (Macmillan, 1942), writes, "The privileged group tends to idealise the period in which it has risen to the height of its power, and to see its highest good in the maintenance of those conditions. Secondly, the privileged group is preoccupied with the question of its own security rather than with the need for reform or even for progress. 'Nothing is more certain', observed J. S. Mill eighty years ago ["Considerations on Representative Government", Ch. III], 'than that improvement in human affairs is wholly the work of the discontented characters'."

The political sciences are still in the Utopian stage. Since Machiavelli a hundred years before Bacon, the groups in control of government have sought to screen their operations from the common man behind a fog of theory and idealism. Popular interest has been turned to visionary projects, blueprints of the future, easy means for a perpetual peace, which make a universal appeal. It is only when these schemes are shown to be unworkable that we are forced to face reality.

As mercantile interests developed it became a matter of importance for those who made the profits to gain control of government. After the Glorious Revolution, which was the triumph of mercantilism, realistic works on government could hardly be permitted. Machiavelli was misrepresented, and Machiavellian became synonymous with devilish.(3) From time to time brilliant thinkers have found expression for realistic views of government which later have been discredited or they obliged to disavow. In the collected works of Edmund Burke is included "A Vindication of Natural Society: Or, A View of the Miseries and Evils Arising to Mankind From Every Species of Artificial Society". This satirical

analysis on the theory of the state and sovereignty reduces it to absurdity. In later life Burke was obliged to deny his authorship. (4)

Since then, except for the Russian Ostrogorski's study of "Democracy" in Britain and America, few realistic treatments of government have appeared until Edward Hallett Carr's important work disguised under the title "The Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations" (Macmillan, 1939). Now the chief editorial writer of the London *Times* and formerly professor of international politics in the University College of Wales, he was long connected with the Foreign Office.

The power exerted by nations over each other is taken up by Carr under the three categories, military, economic, and power over opinion, all of which are interdependent and only theoretically can be considered separately. His purpose is to show how the more realistic current practices came out of the utopian idealism and moralistic conceptions of government which after the first World War through the League of Nations were carried into international politics. (5)

"The post-War assumption of the elimination of power from politics could only result from a wholly uncritical attitude towards political problems." But those who advocated "power politics" were abused as Machiavellian. To the use of power, we attach opprobrious adjectives,—stark, naked, brutal. It is our enemies who are guilty of this—ourselves and our allies are intent in bringing and doing good to all. But any intentions, good or bad, that any individual or government, benevolent or otherwise, may carry into effect will be because of some kind of power (force) behind them. (6)

Carr quotes G. E. G. Catlin ("The Science and Method of Politics", 1926), who "describes the homo politicus as one who 'seeks to bring into conformity with his own will the wills of others, so that he may the better attain his own ends' ". (7) We are reminded of Lenin's saying, "Politics begin where the masses are, not where there are thousands, but where there are millions, that is where serious politics begin".

"Politics are, then", Carr continues, "in one sense always power politics. Common usage applies the term 'political' not to all activities of the state, but to issues involving a conflict of interests. Once this conflict has become resolved, the issue ceases to be 'political' and becomes a matter of administrative routine. . . .

"Power is an indivisible whole. 'The laws of social dynamics', a recent

critic [B. Russell, "Power"] has said, 'are laws which can only be stated in terms of power, not in terms of this or that form of power'."

Military power need only be used as a last resort. The threat is usually sufficient. Its use is a signal that those in control have fallen down on their diplomacy, their bluff has been called, or that for some other reason they are fearful of holding their dominance and power over their people.

"If unrest continues to accumulate, and if no amount of propaganda or suppression suffices to insure the stability of the dictatorship, the ruling group may find it expedient to direct popular resentments either against internal scapegoats, who are frequently denounced and persecuted in elaborate totalitarian cults of intolerance, or against enemies abroad, with a corresponding inculcation of international hatred and glorification of militarism, war and heroic death. War may thus be embarked upon not for tangible and rational objectives, but as a means of silencing domestic opposition, compelling patriotic support of the dictatorship and affording a bloody catharsis for the festering resentments which might otherwise destroy those in power." (Frederick L. Schuman's "International Politics", 1937, quoted in the ms. of Ross Stagner's as yet unpublished "Psychology of War")

"The illusion of a separation between politics and economics—a belated legacy of the laissez-faire nineteenth century—has ceased to correspond to any aspect of the post-War reality", Carr asserts. Political and economic weapons, backed by military force, are essential to produce any economic or political change. (8)

Economic power depends upon rich productive lands and other natural resources, the ability to feed and supply one's own people. Lacking this self-sufficiency which has been the aim of states from the earliest times, there can be no autarchy. (9)

Surplus of what is needed to live may be used as an instrument of policy in international affairs, of bribing other states or their rulers, or influencing them to act as desired, as buffers or irritants. It may be expressed in the form of loans, often to pay for armaments supplied.

Esau returned hungry, so that economic pressure was effective when Jacob offered him a mess of pottage in exchange for his birthright. Long before that, the successful hunter coming upon a famished brother could bend him to his will. A people who through agriculture had learned to produce a surplus of food increased in economic power. The nomads in a time of drouth sold their brother Joseph, but when the lean years came

he used his surplus to save the Egyptians and bring his brethren to heel.

We are the best fed people in the world, but one-third in peacetime have been "ill-fed". That makes them more ready to accept a low wage, more responsive to the demagogue who promises them 'the full dinner pail', 'ham and eggs', or 'two chickens in every pot'. None are so humble, so suppliant as the hungry. Control of food makes possible slavery and the wage system. Food is a weapon, and the starvation method is cheaper than military force. (Cf "Economic Consequences")

Economic compulsions, the empty belly, make empires possible. Hundreds of millions in Britain's Empire go hungry every day. Ninety million Tamils in South India, owners of the land before the coming of the Aryan, men of noble feature, are kept perpetually near starvation, spindle shanked, ribs showing, that they may, when they see wife and child starving, more readily thumbprint an indenture to grow rubber or tea, which otherwise would yield less profit to Britain and raise the price to us. So our spenders and wasters are in a measure parasites on the indentured.

In our starvation culture which we fail to recognize, the threat of starvation permeates even into our homes and schools. The child is sent supperless to bed. In school or camp extra helpings, 'seconds', are often dependent on compliance with the ideals of those in control. In our prisons a bread and water diet in solitary is the ultimate punishment.

Economic power in its finality always implies the threat of death by starvation. To make it effective force must be used without stint, blockade with rapid-fire and fourteen-inch guns to sink any ship approaching with food.

"The illusory character of the political distinction between economic and military power" does not delude Carr. It may not be dismissed "as unfounded". "That the use of the economic weapon is less immoral than the use of the military weapon" and that relative degrees of morality may be assigned to phases of their use is of importance in successfully creating or strengthening the third form, "power over opinion". Joseph Alsop arrives at the same conclusion through his own bitter experience as a Japanese prisoner in Hong Kong. (Cf p 41)

NOTES

(1) "A government is at bottom the officials who carry it on: legislators and prosecutors, school superintendents and police. If it is composed of legislators who pass shortsighted sedition laws by overwhelming majorities, of narrowminded

school superintendents who oust thoughtful teachers of American history and eight-year-old children whose rooted religious convictions prevent them from sharing in a brief ceremony—a government of snoopers and spies and secret police—how can you expect love and loyalty?" (Zechariah Chafee, Jr., "Free Speech in the United States", Harvard University Press, 1941)

Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard in reviewing Paul Sweezy's "The Theory of Capitalist Society" (Oxford, 1942) in the *Sat Rev*, Jan. 16, 1943, recognizes that at times "those engaged in government are in no sense a class, but a conquering tribe or a militant religious group or just a plain gang engaged in getting what they can out of all the classes of a subjugated society".

Huey Long was for a time the government of Louisiana, as Louis XIV was of France. Of course they were surrounded by others who did the actual work. Even the most despotic, autocratic government is a group of men who have acquired position, prestige, power, and are carrying on. It may be Hapsburgs, it may be English Tories, it may be the industrial oligarchy in the United States acting through the Democratic or Republican machine. It may be the industrialists of the North opposing the agriculturalists of the South before the Civil War or afterward.

"Vox Populi may be Vox Dei, but very little attention shows that there has never been any agreement as to what Vox means or as to what Populus means." (Main, "Popular Government", pp. 184-5, qu. by Lowell in "Public Opinion and Popular Government", Longmans, Green, 1913)

(2) Perhaps the reason our laws are so ineffective is because they are not backed up by force. In an autocracy there is but one law maker and one enforcer—the autocrat. In a democracy, the United States, we have 48 legislatures which between the years 1900 and 1940 enacted 375,000 state laws (cf Percival Jackson, "Look at the Law", Dutton, 1940). But in addition we have city and town legislative bodies, aldermen, councilmen, call them what you please, to the number of some hundreds of thousands, and innumerable licensing boards, as well as school boards, so that the total number of law making bodies in the U.S. must run into hundreds of thousands and their enactments into millions.

Under our present bureaucracy we have added enormously to the number of law making bodies by decree and to the volume of ordinances and decisions which have the force of law and carry heavy penalties. (Cf "Centralizing Tendencies", Note 3)

Laws are violated, are evaded with impunity by those who can bring a greater force to bear in their defense than will be brought against them. The force may be political, so called, which in the last analysis usually becomes economic.

"The man under law is a man protected from arbitrary violence; he knows clearly beforehand what he may do and what he may not do, and the advance of freedom wherever it has existed in the world has gone on concurrently with the declaration and maintenance of rights . . . approved of by a growing number of intelligent and resentful people, and resisted, actively or passively, by every existing government on earth. For governing gangs and classes everywhere know what that Declaration means for them. It offers a fundamental law for a united and

recivilised world, into which their pomps and pretensions will be dissolved, and as the old order of things becomes more and more plainly an intolerable confusion of enslavement and frustration, it will be the sole means of uniting and implementing a thousand storms of resentment." (H. G. Wells, "You Can't Be Too Careful", Secker & Warburg, 1941)

(3) Machiavelli "was a man of science—one who by the vigorous study of his subject matter sought from that subject-matter itself to deduce laws. . . . His originality consists in having extended the positive intelligence of his century from the sphere of contemporary politics and special interests to man at large regarded as a political being. He founded the science of politics for the modern world, by concentrating thought upon its fundamental principles. He began to study men, not according to some preconception, but as he found them—men, not in the isolation of one century, but as a whole in history. He drew his conclusions from the nature of mankind itself, 'ascribing all things to natural causes or to fortune'. In this way he restored the right method of study, a method which had been neglected since the days of Aristotle. He formed a conception of the modern state, which marked the close of the middle ages, and anticipated the next phase of European development." (John Addington Symonds, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th edition, 1910-11)

(4) "The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke. A New Edition." Vol. I. (London, Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington, 1815) The "Vindication" is in the form of "A Letter to Lord **** By a Late Noble Writer". Written in 1756 when Burke was twenty-seven, he let his imagination play freely as had Rousseau six years earlier. The Glorious Revolution had taken place. The merchants had stepped into power to preserve the myths, and Anne was queen. Burke taunted, "Do you take this woman to be your Queen?" The government, "must frequently infringe the rules of justice to support themselves; that truth must give way to dissimulation . . . and humanity itself to the reigning interest. . . . This mystery of iniquity is called the reason of state. . . . Civil government borrows a strength from ecclesiastical; and artificial laws receive a sanction from artificial revelations."

Albert Jay Nock in his "Our Enemy the State" (Morrow, 1935) writes like a 20th century Burke. He brilliantly endeavors to show the damage to the human spirit that has been done and is being done by governments of all kinds everywhere. The state has been at all times an instrument of exploitation in the hands of the few that control, the economically powerful. Like Confucius he believes that the only good government is self-government, and the less interference the better. (Cf *Handbook of Private Schools*, 20th ed., 1936, pp 102-3)

(5) The industrial revolution brought " 'utopian socialists': Saint-Simon and Fourier in France, Robert Owen in England. These men did not attempt to analyse the nature of class-interests or class-consciousness or of the class-conflict to which they gave rise. They simply made unverified assumptions about human behaviour and, on the strength of these, drew up visionary schemes of ideal communities in which men of all classes would live together in amity, sharing the fruits of their

labours in proportion to their needs. . . .

"Just as nobody has even been able to make gold in a laboratory, so nobody has ever been able to live in Plato's republic or in a world of universal free trade or in Fourier's phalansteries. But it is, nevertheless, perfectly right to venerate Confucius and Plato as the founders of political science, Adam Smith as the founders of political economy, and Fourier and Owen as the founders of socialism. The initial stage of aspiration towards an end is an essential foundation of human thinking. The wish is father to the thought. Teleology precedes analysis. . . . Mature thought combines purpose with observation and analysis. Utopia and reality are thus the two facets of political science. Sound political thought and sound political life will be found only where both have their place." (Carr)

(6) In "What Makes Lives" (Porter Sargent, 1940) some thirty pages were devoted to power and recent literature on the subject. Topics covered included "Social Power", "Precedence", "Dominance", "Influencing Others", "Forces Determine Lives", "Hypocrisy About Force", "Forces Should Be Understood", "Economize on Force", "What Is Force?", "Becoming Conscious of Force", "You Cannot Escape Force", "Accent on Power", "Methods of Controlling Behavior", "Types of Power", "Sources and Limits of Political Power", "A Social Analysis of Power", "Law and Order", "Law Implies Acceptance", "The 'Theory' of Sovereignty", "The Technique of Sovereignty", "The 'Art' of Ruling", "Physical, Mental, and Moral Force", "Exploiting Morality", "Moral Suasion".

(7) As Charles Beard pointed out in 1939, when a monarch is hard pressed by his people he can always start a crusade as did Henry IV according to Shakespeare, whose line Beard used for the title of his book. "I . . . had a purpose now to lead out many to the Holy Land, lest rest and lying still might make them look too near unto my state. Therefore, my Harry, be it thy course, to busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels; that action, hence borne out, may waste the memory of the former days." (Henry IV, Act IV)

(8) "In the famous 1934 Peace Ballot in Great Britain, some two million deluded voters expressed simultaneously their approval of economic, and their disapproval of military, sanctions. 'One of the many conclusions to which I have been drawn', said Lord Baldwin at this time, 'is that there is no such thing as a sanction which will work, which does not mean war.'" (Quoted from House of Commons *Official Report*, May 18, 1934, by Carr in "Twenty Years Crisis")

(9) "Autarky received its classic definition from the pen of Alexander Hamilton, who in 1791" in his report as Secretary of the Treasury, said: "Not only the wealth but the independence and security of a country appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufactures. Every nation, with a view to these great objects, ought to endeavour to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply." (Carr)

GUIDING PUBLIC OPINION

With control of employment and wages, which means food, with the police around the corner and the military on call, a brutal form of control of a conquered people can be maintained. We see it in the "occupied" territories today. But such methods are expensive. Labor is not efficient. Police are able men removed from production. And even Pretorian guards may revolt. Dictators who have no scruples about using force to the utmost find other weapons even more insidiously powerful.

Power of opinion, as correlative with military and economic power, has been neglected in theoretical discussion. But, as Carr emphasizes, "opinion is conditioned by status and interest, and . . . a ruling class or nation, or dominant group of nations, not only evolves opinions favourable to the maintenance of its privileged position, but can, in virtue of its military and economic superiority, easily impose these opinions." (1)

Laski "contends merely that what the rulers of the state can know and desire is conditioned by the economic relationships which the state, he thinks, exists in order to maintain; that these relationships give birth to an appropriate body of ideals," remarks Holcombe. "In other words, the latest and most refined version of the economic interpretation of history clothes the naked facts of the class struggle in the splendid raiment of triumphant ideals. These ideals remain, nevertheless, nothing more than rationalizations of economic interests." (2)

When we were first awakened to the importance of what we then called propaganda twenty-five years ago, some of us were astonished at the enormous amounts of money that governments put into it, though the figures were usually concealed under appropriations for Foreign Office, Intelligence Service, or Cultural Relations (cf "Getting U S Into War", pp 48, 107). But however much money may be however wastefully spent in building public opinion, it is the least expensive way of holding a people in unity and loyalty to the purposes laid down by their rulers.

No politician, no government, can be wholly regardless of public opinion. Only Selkirk, sole inhabitant of his desert island, not giving a whoop for opinion, could boast, "I am monarch of all I survey". When Friday joined him, he had to attitudinize and show his superior power in order

to hold his loyalty. The chieftain of a savage tribe with power of life and death over his followers, or Ivan the Terrible, Czar of all the Russias, executing thousands who came under his displeasure, had to pay some attention to the opinion of those immediately about him. (3)

Despots must hold the loyalty, must consider the attitude of their pretorians or mamelukes, who must believe their master has the right or the might. Power over opinion even with the dictator or the despot comes before military and economic power.

The king could speak to his nobles, they to their liege. But the priests in the churches could reach all. So there was unity of opinion, public and private. The protesters rebelled at this control by the third estate, brought about what they called the Reformation, and insisted on reading the Word of God themselves. So it is in the Protestant countries of northern Europe and the Protestant communities of English-speaking peoples that literacy has been promoted.

That marks an era. From that time what people read became of increasing importance to those in control. With the invention of printing and increased literacy, there was an apparent rise of intelligence and growth of the democratic spirit. Opinions came to be held by the people which the government could no longer ignore.

"The broadening of the basis of politics . . . has vastly increased the number of those whose opinion is politically important", Carr remarks. "Contemporary politics are vitally dependent on the opinion of large masses of more or less politically conscious people, of whom the most vocal, the most influential and the most accessible to propaganda are those who live in and around great cities." So political campaigns consist of deluging the cities just before elections with political hot air for which no proper gas masks have yet been devised. (4)

Headlines are the makers of mass opinion for the formerly illiterate reader. In the last hundred years, illiteracy has gradually retreated among the English-speaking peoples. In the United States it has taken two successive wars to shock us to an awareness of the degree of illiteracy that still persists (cf "Has Education Improved Our Intellect?").

In European countries the government has kept a close hand on the press. In England and America it became worth while for the propertied classes to own newspapers and periodicals. How far the press had been used to shape opinion was made clear twenty years ago by Walter Lippmann in "Liberty and the News" (Harcourt, Brace, 1920). "Just as the

most poisonous form of disorder is the mob incited from high places, the most immoral act the immorality of a government, so the most destructive form of untruth is sophistry and propaganda by those whose profession it is to report the news. The news columns are common carriers. When those who control them arrogate to themselves the right to determine by their own consciences what shall be reported and for what purpose, democracy is unworkable. Public opinion is blockaded. For when a people can no longer confidently repair 'to the best fountains for their information', then, anyone's guess and anyone's rumor, each man's hope and each man's whim becomes the basis of government."

In "News and the Power of the Press", *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1941, Robert E. Park, referring to Lippmann, wrote, "The point of that essay was that only as far as the sources of news are not fouled by propaganda is it possible for a people to preserve the liberties guaranteed them by the existence of a democratic society." (5)

The printing press still remains important in the present international confusion. Elmer Davis' OWI "Urges Pulp Writers to Aid War Consciousness" (AP, Nov. 7, 1942). "Books Are Weapons of War", W. W. Norton, the publisher, announces at the annual Boston Herald Book Fair late in 1942. "The book trade of America has organized a Council on Books in Wartime . . . to wield these weapons."

There have been book burnings in this country as well as in Germany. There has been suppression of books after publication, more in this country than perhaps elsewhere. Many books still in circulation in England are unobtainable here. Arthur Bryant's "Unfinished Victory" (Macmillan, 1940) is considered too dangerous a weapon for Americans. Publishers want weapons aimed at the enemy, however explosive and even if they go off at half cock. The demand is for books to create hate, and little can be published today that would counteract this hate attitude.

But radio, which has come into its own since the first World War, has made literacy of less importance in the molding of public opinion. Huey Long didn't depend on the printed word.

"The mass of people can now be won by a voice, with little reference to the body or the mind behind it. A new potential for demagoguery is with us," writes Tom Harrisson, anthropologist, and organizer of "Mass Observation" in England. "If a man is a good broadcaster, he can make himself a national figure overnight. . . . Churchill gained the supreme public confidence which he has enjoyed for the past two years, largely

from the first of his wartime broadcasts while he was still in the Chamberlain Government." (Cf *Private Schools*, 21st ed., pp 112-113)

With this new, immediate means of communication, what is communicated becomes of greater moment to those who would retain power. Little wonder then that governments keep a close supervision on radio, now and increasingly the prime means of communicating to the millions. (Cf "Unifying the Nation", "Has Education Improved Our Intellect?")

The former news editor of CBS, Matthew Gordon, has just written a book, "News Is a Weapon" (Knopf, 1942), to which Elmer Davis, in charge of War Information, writes the introduction. This book tells us of how the Germans slanted radio news so that it would hurt us most.

Totalitarian states, influenced by the researches of modern psychologists, realistically enforce conformity in mass opinion, claiming that they are giving force to the will of the masses, "and the profession is not wholly vain", remarks Carr. Any government in this modern world, without its being more apparent than it need be, must control "the radio, the film and the popular press". The Japanese hierarchy goes much farther and has a police bureau for 'Thought Control' (*Time*, July 21, 1941).

In a democracy we assume that each individual's opinion is sacred. We Americans believe our thought is free, that it cannot be controlled in the presence of our free press and free speech and all that the Bill of Rights guarantees us. We are idealists. We take a moral view of things. We are utopian in our attitude toward international relations.

In the day of individual free enterprise the storekeeper or the insurance agent went out of his way to make himself seen, know, to bestow smiles to win the local editor, newspaper proprietor, to build good will through such propaganda methods as were available. As great corporations have taken over individual enterprises and as nationalization proceeds, the building of opinion and good will is no longer the individual's function. It is systematized, and in totalitarian states centralized.

Our great financial and industrial corporations must build good will not only to build business but to protect themselves against legislative attacks. To this end they maintain large organizations of expert publicity men and spend large sums for advertising through agencies.

To ascertain how much must be spent to overcome sales resistance, the agencies developed the organized method of getting housewives' opinions by house to house canvas. This was called 'market research', and out of this developed the opinion polls. (Cf "Unifying the Nation")

One of the greatest and most beneficent of our corporations, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, has advertised for years in almost every newspaper and periodical, not to get business, for it is a monopoly, but to build good will so that when Congressional investigations disclose abuses and waste, it will have little effect.

The power and light utilities have abused this control of public opinion, as was brought out in a Congressional investigation. One of their methods that caused greatest resentment was the hiring or retaining of university professors to serve them with their "expert" opinions, to write textbooks, to make addresses to mislead public opinion.

"American advertising specialists are alleged to hold that 'only cost limits the delivery of public opinion in any direction on any topic' ", Carr asserts. But "absolute power over opinion is limited" by some consideration of truth. "The most expert advertiser could not sell a face cream made of vitriol."

"Opinion, like trade and industry, should according to the old liberal conception be allowed to flow in its own 'natural channels without artificial regulation. This conception has broken down on the hard fact that in modern conditions opinion, like trade, is not and cannot be exempt from artificial controls", Carr remarks. "The issue is no longer whether men shall be politically free to express their opinions, but whether freedom of opinion has, for large masses of people, any meaning but subjection to the influence of innumerable forms of propaganda directed by vested interests of one kind or another. Some control by the state of this power over opinion has become necessary if the community is to survive."

"In the event of war, freedom of opinion would be subject to the same measures of constraint as other forms of personal freedom", Carr holds. Dissidents are quickly suppressed, so that Roosevelt was justified in telling Congress on January 6, 1942, "The Union was never more closely knit together and this country was never more deeply determined to face the solemn tasks before it", as Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard reminds us (*New Republic*, Feb. 2, 1942). This may be interpreted as evidence that the technique and machinery for close knitting have been greatly improved.(6)

"We may say that in the last analysis wars result from movements of public opinion. . . . We have wars because we develop war fever", writes Willard Waller in "War in the 20th Century". This is quoted in the *American Sociological Review*, Dec., 1941, by Dr. Theodore Abel of

Columbia University, who admits that it is "the prevailing opinion" but observes that "the decision to wage war precedes by one to five years the outbreak of hostilities. War fever and the process which Waller compares to 'the milling of a crowd getting ready to stampede' indeed take place and often are part of the war pattern, but they happen after a deliberate decision is reached. Often, the war fever and milling process are intentionally engineered by the power group to win the support of community sentiment. . . .

"Throughout recorded human history, the initiators of war were individuals and groups who held power: political power, control over natural resources, means of production, land, markets, credits, and other sources of domination. . . .(7) Since the time of Napoleon, wars have become national wars fought by conscript armies and public opinion is now a major factor." Consequently the means of controlling and directing public opinion become of increasing importance.(8)

Wendell Willkie lunched alone with the President at the White House during the week ending July 19, 1941. "The long conference ended. One story about it reached the press. As Willkie was leaving, President Roosevelt told him that his friends had advised him to retain the foremost U.S. psychiatrists to work out ways of correcting and influencing public opinion. Willkie grinned. 'Mr. President', said he, 'have you heard of the first meeting of your fifth cousin, Theodore Roosevelt, and Albert Lasker, the advertising man?' The President had not. Willkie told how Lasker traveled to Oyster Bay, how Teddy, all smiles, teeth and out-stretched arms, burst in to greet him, crying out, 'Mr. Lasker, I've been told that you have the master advertising mind in the country'. Said Lasker hastily, 'It would be presumptuous for any one to claim that, in your presence.' 'And so', said Willkie, 'I think it would be presumptuous for any psychiatrist to tell you how to influence public opinion'." (*Time*, July 21, 1941)

NOTES

(1) Moreover, "power over opinion is limited . . . by the inherent utopianism of human nature. . . . Oppression sometimes has the effect of strengthening the will, and sharpening the intelligence, of its victims, so that it is not universally or absolutely true that a privileged group can control opinion at the expense of the unprivileged." So "politics cannot be defined solely in terms of power". But "international politics are always power politics; for it is impossible to eliminate power from them. . . .

"The fact that national propaganda everywhere so eagerly cloaks itself in ideologies of a professedly international character proves the existence of an international stock of common ideas, however limited and however weakly held, to which appeal can be made, and of a belief that these common ideas stand somehow in the scale of values above national interests. This stock of common ideas is what we mean by international morality." (Carr, "Twenty Years Crisis")

(2) Arthur N. Holcombe, Professor of Government, Harvard University, in "The Middle Classes in American Politics" (Harvard University Press, 1940) continues, "Pareto's psychological interpretation of history comes conveniently to hand. Instead of rationalizations, Pareto offers us residues and derivations. The terms are not inconvenient, though hardly self-explanatory. Derivations, according to Pareto, are the ideas and ideals which may be advanced by those concerned to explain and justify their behavior. Political ideas and ideals, he concedes, may spring from attempts to justify rational interests in the economic order."

(3) "Hume's statement that governments even the most despotic, have nothing but opinion to support them, cannot be accepted without some definition of terms, but it is essentially correct. Hume included under opinion what we would distinguish from it, namely, the mores." (Park and Burgess, "Introduction to the Science of Sociology", University of Chicago Press, 1921)

(4) "Under a modern democracy he [the strong man] comes forward at popular meetings; is at pains to acquire an influence over the crowd and to win their votes by appealing to their emotions and prejudices, by making promises and juggling with illusions. . . . Once in office, he continues his activity until he has become a minister, party leader, or, in a republic, President. . . . Mighty financiers manage average men in the same way as do politicians, courtiers, and military despots. They begin by conjuring up illusions and intoxicating weak heads with their delight; then, as their power grows, they intimidate some and rouse the cupidity of the others by rewards and promises. . . .

"Symbols take the place of the tangible methods of violence, and call into the consciousness, by association, the ideas connected with them. . . . Thus the battle-axe becomes the staff of office found among the oldest prehistoric implements; thus the head-dress, which distinguishes the mightiest warrior in battle, to inspire terror in the foe, becomes the crown. . . . Obeisance, bending of the knee, prostration, folding or raising of the hands, are all postures in which the vanquished awaits, unarmed, the death-stroke of the victor, or the mercy which only his pity can conceive." (Nordau, "Interpretation of History", Moffat, Yard, 1911)

(5) "The Revolution in Publicity" (*Sat Rev*, Nov., 1941) by Edward L. Bernays, today the highest priced man in publicity, points out that in American government "the importance of new techniques of publicity . . . made possible by growing literacy, the free ballot, and speeded by mechanics of printing, communication and transportation" was first recognized "when Theodore Roosevelt set out to 'bust the trusts'. . . . This era also intensified development of the use of publicity as a weapon by the President—when the White House press conference was first used to mold public attitudes and action, and when stories were 'planted' with

favored correspondents as an instrument by which public opinion might be influenced. . . . Government by publicity . . . manipulation of symbols—words, pictures, and actions—to affect public attitudes have become a major concern of our government. . . . Public relations is no longer a white-washing; it no longer pulls the wool over anybody's eyes. . . . Psychological motives, psychoanalytical techniques, psychology, ethnology, statistics, served as a new foundation for the activity." (For a discussion of the press and propaganda, cf the Handbook of Private Schools, 1935 ed., pp 35, 92-3)

(6) "It did not take long for the belligerents of 1914-18 to realise that 'psychological war must accompany economic war and military war' [H. D. Lasswell in the Foreword to G. G. Bruntz] "Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire"]. It was a condition of success on the military and economic fronts that the 'morale' of one's own side should be maintained, and that of the other side sapped and destroyed. . . . New official or semi-official agencies for the influencing of opinion at home and abroad were springing up in every country. This new development has been rendered possible and inevitable by the popularisation of international politics and by the growing efficiency of propaganda methods. . . . A rapid extension of propaganda designed to familiarise foreign opinion with the British point of view" has since 1935 been exercised through the British Council, " 'making the life and thought of the British peoples more widely known abroad'. . . . In July, 1938, the State Department created for the first time a 'Division of Cultural Relations'." (Carr)

(7) The article quoted deals with and is entitled "The Element of Decision in the Pattern of War". Dr. Abel continues, "Generally speaking, the events which are interpreted by a group as a threat to its power are precipitated by adverse changes in existing relationships, or changes in the relative position of groups which make it increasingly difficult for the dominant group to maintain its power. . . . The crisis grows with the narrowing down of the range of possible solutions. It reaches its climax when negotiations fail and intimidation proves ineffective. The power group then faces the alternative of either resigning from its position of dominance or employing violence as a radical means of solving its problem."

(8) Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., looking at the situation from the other side, maintains, "The real value of freedom of speech is not to the minority that wants to talk, but to the majority that does not want to listen. Once you suppress men who you think are in the wrong or who belong to groups you dislike or despise, you create an atmosphere in which men of greater wisdom may hesitate to come forward. . . . The imprisonment of 'half-baked' agitators for 'foolish talk' may often discourage wise men from publishing valuable criticism of governmental policies. Consequently, what might be well said is not said at all. . . . The pertinacious orators and writers who get hauled up are merely extremist spokesmen for a mass of more thoughtful and more retiring men and women, who share in varying degrees the same critical attitude toward prevailing policies and institutions. When you put the hotheads in jail, these cooler people do not get arrested—they just keep quiet."

CONTROLLING COMMUNICATION

Education is generally thought of as the means by which we get our information and ideas. In recent years we have come to appreciate that beginning at birth the larger part is played by the home and the community. Formal education, mere schooling, in this light seems less important. We are beginning to understand that all that we call education is only a part of the larger, more inclusive process of acculturation by which the culture, the modes of thought and behavior of the family and the community, are transmitted and inculcated.

Up to within relatively recent times, this went on for most of us in isolated homes, hamlets and valleys. Only in recent centuries have we become conscious of the world and its peoples. Only in recent decades, improvement in transportation and instantaneous communication of ideas over great distances have begun to make the whole world one. Few of us yet appreciate that the process of changing the attitude or mental content of a people, however remote or diverse in their cultural antecedents, may now be accomplished very rapidly.

Communication has been going on between living creatures for hundreds of millions of years. In any kind of group life, intercommunication between individuals is essential for the survival of the group and the species. Solitary or predatory animals have little need of communication, except in bringing male and female together at the breeding season.(1)

Various forms of communication and the muscular and sensory apparatus therefor have independently developed. Sound patterns for communication among the insects are produced by vibration or stridulation of wings or legs, and some produce supersonic tones inaudible to the human ear. In the vertebrates sound patterns are generally produced in connection with the breathing apparatus. But the olfactory sense may serve similarly in many groups, insects, deer and antelope. Scent glands under voluntary control may serve for sex attraction or in warning of approaching danger.

Communication involves the use of muscular force, to make a gesture, to display a symbol, the warning color, a flag, to make a sound, vocal or other. When mother says, "No, no", it is not merely the contraction of

sound-producing muscles but the contraction or relaxation of the muscles of the face and around mother's eyes that enables the child to interpret the "No, no". The Western diplomat may fail to interpret correctly even the perfect English of the Japanese ambassador, whose face is impassive.

The earliest communication was probably by symbols, color, form, sound, or scent. The brilliant colors of poisonous butterflies, 'taken on' by edible butterflies in 'protective mimicry', are warning symbols to predatory birds. The skunk on meeting a potential enemy raises his tail, as distinctive a symbol of potential attack as the white flag is of surrender, and the dog or man of experience gives him fare way.

Communication serves to maintain group consciousness. The hum of swarming bees establishes the solidarity of the swarm, their adherence (loyalty) to the queen. Such a hum may be heard at social gatherings of people of similar interest, church, education, science. Above the hum may rise stronger or higher tones of those who, not wholly satisfied with the feeling of solidarity, are making vocal efforts to impress others with their plausibility or superiority.

In all these varied forms, communication influences the behavior of others. The higher animals may by threat or by offer cause envy or desire to imitate. The bull or the stallion offers his intimidating challenge by sound before engaging in the battle for sex dominance.

In more complex human relations through communication we express personal attitudes of love or hatred, we establish bonds of sympathy, evidence of understanding, which brings gratification. Even a dog or a slave will respond to kindness more quickly than to the offer of something material. It brings a feeling that he is secure in your presence, and security is fundamental to continuance of existence.

Offering something, the carrot, is economic force. The goad is the equivalent of police or military force. The promise or the threat alone may be effective. Only when the communicant fails to effectively picture what is to come, need starvation or the use of force follow.

This applies to nations with their diplomats and armies as it does among barnyard fowl and cattle. Once the order of dominance has been established and impressed by inflicted pain, the dominant has only to communicate to the other nation or fowl by a gesture that the suggested action is in order.(2)

The gesture may thus become a symbol, a time saver. Social interaction is effected largely by the use of symbols. Manipulation of symbols

plays a large part in human life. The African fetish, the Buddhist lotus, the Christian cross, the Nazi flag, the Stars and Stripes, the Crown, the Constitution, may stir the very vitals of men and hold them in unity and to collective action. (3)

Sounds patterns too may be symbols. La Piere reminds us 'love', 'liberty' are sounds which have become symbols. Intensification of stimulus may be effected by the repetition of such symbols. The reverent repetition of 'om mane padme hum' or 'the Constitution' or 'the four freedoms' produces an effect inordinate with the original stimulus, a sort of self-hypnosis. "Breathes there a man with soul so dead", however highly critical his intellect, who does not respond to symbols?

Without words, which are sounds produced by the muscular action of the vocal organs, John B. Watson held there could be no thought. Children listening to words begin involuntarily and inaudibly to use their vocal musculature. They begin to read by vocalizing. They and the semi-literate are likely to move their lips as they visualize words as sounds. Jacobson, according to La Piere, "showed that fine, but electrically measurable, movements of the tongue and lip muscles accompany thinking. . . . Thought is not a process which occurs in the brain, irrespective of the rest of the organic mechanism. Undoubtedly there is an intimate connection between speech and thought. Thought may, perhaps, be described as a process of covert symbolization, involving verbal, visual, auditory, and gesture mechanisms." (4)

The Westerner verbalizes automatically and inaudibly when he thinks "4 times 27",—"4 sevens, carry 2, 4 two's". A Chinese, on the other hand, visualizes the abacus, the position of the beads, the changed position, the result.

Words are relatively recent in the long history of communication and not so ancient in the history of man. The immediate ancestors and co-relatives of modern man have been communicating for millions of years vocally without benefit of words. Perhaps Neanderthal man used something that might be considered words some hundred thousand years ago.

Language in all its diversities has probably developed, the result of isolation of groups, within the last hundred thousand years or less. It still goes on changing and developing. Dominant peoples imposed their language, Latin, Spanish, English, on the conquered, whose languages languished, absorbed or lost. The coming language today is a form of German modified in Britain with large additions from the Latin and

many other languages. (5)

Only a few tens of thousands of years ago man first learned to communicate by pictographs hand graved on rock, bark, or sand. Characters to stand for vocal sounds are only a few thousand years old. And only for five hundred years has it been possible to reproduce these characters in quantity by printing.

In all these varied ways of communication by language we have not yet mastered its use. Words still remain stumbling blocks. Bacon pointed out that language leads us to substitute the well-said for the well-thought, encumbers the mind with concentration on verbal problems, and creates the illusion that words always correspond to things. Such obstructions to thought Bacon in his "*Novum Organum*" referred to as 'idols'.

"There are also idols formed by the reciprocal intercourse and society of man with man, which we call idols of the market, from the commerce and association of men with each other; for men converse by means of language, but words are formed at the will of the generality, and there arises from a bad and unapt formation of words a wonderful obstruction to the mind. Nor can the definitions and explanations with which learned men are wont to guard and protect themselves in some instances afford a complete remedy—words still manifestly force the understanding, throw everything into confusion, and lead mankind into vain and innumerable controversies and fallacies."

The semanticists Ogden and Richards have abstrusely followed "The Meaning of Meaning" through its ramifications, throwing a little light on dark spots. But it has remained for the General Semanticists led by Korzybski to show us clearly just how elements of our culture like our language have complicated and perverted our thought processes. (6)

Communication, of which we are beginning to appreciate the difficulty, is really quite impossible. It can only be approximated. No one can ever get just what another imperfectly attempts to communicate. Poets have appreciated this,—and lovers, who like others complain that they are not understood,—"Light flows our war of mocking words. . . ."

Because one's make-up and experience can never be identical with that of another, no one can ever completely understand the other, however perfected the means of communication. The oldest, most primitive means is still the most reliable, not sounds but facial expression, not talk but acts. Even if we can't understand the other's language, we can try to climb into his skin and look out through his eyeholes at the world. That

world we can never see or know completely, but we may come to more understanding that way than through words.

Most of what we know and believe, we learned at mother's knee, even before the words she used meant more than sounds to us. And all she knew and her ancestors knew was what the brain was able to interpret from what imperfect sense organs were able to communicate from the animate and inanimate world about. (7)

But the experience of such isolated people was limited. Much of what they knew was communicated to them by others. Traders, pilgrims, poets carried to the market place news, ideas, enlarging the experience of isolated peoples. Gossips spread them. Tradition preserved them. In the past few thousand years writing disseminated them, in the past few hundred printing has spread them broadcast. But all this until within a few decades has been largely a haphazard and fortuitous process.

For long centuries all knowledge came of God, revealed to this human world through a few selected at such times as pleased Him. It was heresy, the vilest of crimes, to hold an individual opinion. Later when Copernicus had shown that the infallible was wrong and men had won through persecution and suffering the right to hold their own views, individual opinion came to be looked upon as something almost sacred. Man is a believer. The skeptic is exceptional and has usually been stoned and persecuted. Sir John Mandeville, before skeptics dared raise their voice, could tell the most marvelous tales of Prester John to a people trained in credulity.

The very idea that there could be a history of ideas is a new idea. To have attempted to delve into the origin of ideas before heresy became respectable would have been impious. Out of the Renaissance, which brought us new knowledge of the challenging Greeks, came brave skeptics and challengers, priests like Copernicus, Bruno, Luther, and Rabelais. Skeptics and wits like the Scot Hume and the French Voltaire stretched men's minds. The Encyclopedists refurbished them, and the French Revolution cracked them open.

In France in the 'Eighties Renan critically examined our most cherished beliefs. Taine's "*Histoire de la littérature anglaise*" is generally accredited the first attempt to scientifically account for the thought and writings of a people as resulting from their ethnic, environmental, and chronological characteristics. Forerunners had been Draper's "*Intellectual Development of Europe*" (1862) and Lecky's "*History of Rational-*

ism" (1865). All these sought to untangle the skein of our woolly beliefs, which has been more adequately accomplished recently by Harry Elmer Barnes in "An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World" (revised ed., Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941), a colossal mappa mundi of the human mind and a guide to our present mental content.

The idea that ideas could be promoted for human purpose still remained unborn. Propaganda had been the propagation of the gospel, the Word of God,—God's intent, not man's. When the Japanese at Portsmouth put it over on Theodore Roosevelt and the Russians, a few became conscious that they were masters of an ancient art new to us but which the Orient had long before taught Rome.(8)

Americans fought the first World War with conviction and zeal to put down militarism and make the world safe for democracy. It was not till after that there was a gradual awakening to the propaganda processes by which we had been brought in and the art with which Creel had sold the war to us.(9)

Scholars in academic circles became interested in tracing how ideas have come to the American people. And there has been since then a whole series of studies on the intellectual history of the American people. Vernon L. Parrington's "Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920" is a study of "adventures in American liberalism". The first volume was published in 1927, the third not till 1930, after his death.

Parrington was followed by a flood of similar books, from Granville Hicks' "The Great Tradition" (1933), which reviewed the growth of ideas from the Marxist point of view, to the more recent Alfred Kazin's "On Native Grounds: An Interpretation of Modern American Prose Literature" (Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942). The late Constance Rourke in a series of volumes sought to demonstrate that America had developed a distinctive culture. Her latest volume, "The Roots of American Culture" (Harcourt, Brace, 1942), was published posthumously. However, three recent books are outstanding in revealing the sources and development of the mental content of America, treated of as 'Thought', 'Spirit', 'Ideas'.

Ralph Henry Gabriel of Yale in "The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History Since 1815" (Ronald Press, 1940) deals with the changing mental content of the people of America under influences ecological, psychological, economic and ideological and the

influx of new ideas from other countries. He regards as "American" only that which affects the great majority of the people, like the Lincoln myth, not Marxism. Like the archeologist, he recognizes "culture levels in the world of ideas". He distinguishes the old Puritanism, the period of Enlightenment, Unitarianism and Transcendentalism, and "a simple evangelical Protestantism". Frontiersmen stimulated that pride of the group which is essential to nationalism, and "a warm humanitarianism spread over the land, ameliorating the sufferings of men and providing materials for dreams of a transformed world". The dream, the myth, the illusion we call "Democracy" still persists, generally shared by the great mass of people.

Charles and Mary Beard's "The American Spirit" (Macmillan, 1942), the fourth volume of their "Rise of American Civilization", centers about the changing use of the abstraction 'civilization' from its introduction by Condorcet in 1793. Tracing "The Power of Ideas as World-Views", they quote the confused mumblings of many as their conception of the term 'civilization' changes through the century. Woodrow Wilson declared with certitude, "You have got to guarantee and underwrite civilization". But Roosevelt and Churchill in the Atlantic Charter more tenuously avowed that their "declaration of principles at this time presents a goal which is worth while for our type of civilization to seek" (Cf "Technological Advance", note 5). The Beards arrive at the conclusion that after sectional struggles, pessimism, reasseveration, influx of foreign cultures, and a world mission under arms, there is finally a convergence of views, a real American civilization, an 'American spirit'.(10)

Oscar Cargill's "Ideas on the March" (Macmillan, 1941), the first volume of his "Intellectual America", shows how ideas were imported, modified, and adapted, or originated in the American environment. "Ideodynamics" he calls "the descriptive study of ideologies and of the results of the forces which they exert", not so much upon society in general as upon other writers. "If philosophy be the science of what is possible, then ideodynamics is the science of what is: a statement of the world's confusions from which philosophy, like poetry, may beguile us, but to which we must return for sanity and health. . . . Though panderers to the popular taste may still come trailing clouds of glory, the genuine critic will abjure 'atmosphere' for the sake of truth. Ideodynamics is at once maid-servant and disciplinarian to criticism." Cargill cuts his own pattern. Bold, shrewd, he inquires into the background of those who

promote ideas. Naturally he shocks the reviewers. Still more will his forthcoming second volume, "Ideas in Conflict", which is to deal with those who apply ideas to social problems.

These studies of the planting and growth of ideas in the minds of a people reveal the possibilities of directed planting of selected ideas and their distortion during growth. Both Gabriel and the Beards lead to the consideration of how the so-called thought or mental content of the American people may have been influenced by the selected information communicated to them. Gabriel is interested in how this presentation and conditioning may have led to the line of action, the course followed.

Gabriel doesn't attempt to answer all the questions he raises. "Why did the young men of America quietly assemble on their hometown station platforms during those September days of 1917 to begin the journey which for so many of them ended under a white cross in France?" He gives the reader material for thought whereby he may arrive at his own answers. The problem is only glimpsed, not clearly stated, and no answer given.

The problem is not the old personal problem of 'what made me do it'. That remains apart. The pertinent problem at this stage in our intellectual development is 'how did we get our ideas', 'what makes us think so', 'what has so emotionally stirred us', 'why do we take this line of action'. In a generation we have seen the attitude of the American people toward other peoples changed and reversed and again changed.(11)

Consider Russia, our friend during the Civil War when Britain was inimical. In the 'Nineties we were led by the reporting of George Kennan to sympathize with the people and hate the Russian Czar. Later Kennan and other journalists informed us of the intrepid heroism of the Japanese at Port Arthur and learning of their 'Bushido', which was excellent propaganda, we became ardent Japanese partisans against the Russians. In the first World War we hailed the Russian Czar allied with England and Japan and joined in the fight for democracy. With the Russian Revolution we hated and vilified the Bolsheviks and sent American troops against them on three fronts. When in 1939 Russia made a treaty of friendship with Germany we damned them still further. Since then we have flopped again and now praise Stalin and pass the ammunition to the Russian people as our saviors. Haven't we been fickle toward the Finns?

This inconstant attitude is generally explained as due to the acts of these other people. But it is difficult to get information.(12) And what

we know is only through what is communicated to us through cables, radio, newspapers, lecturers and speakers. The control of all these means of communication through censorship, government agencies, and in a thousand other ways has long been apparent to the intellectually alert.

Alarmed at the social dangers of this control, Willey and Rice of the Hoover Commission in 1933 in "Recent Social Trends" reported, "It is as agencies of control that the newspaper, the motion picture and the radio raise problems of social importance. The brief survey of their development in each instance shows increased utilization coupled with concentration of facilities. . . . In short, an interconnecting, interconnected web of communication lines has been woven about the individual. It has transformed his behavior and his attitudes no less than it has transformed social organization itself. The web has developed largely without plan or aim. The integration has been in consequence of competitive forces, not social desirability." (13)

With this growing awareness of the increasing control of the means of communication there has been as yet little recognition of how great are the stakes for those who can control what is communicated. Nor is there as yet adequate understanding of how rapidly has developed in the past decade the art of controlling the mental content of a people.

Some awareness of this was awakened in the mind of America's most popular poet of the day, the late Stephen Vincent Benét. Stimulated by the story of the burning of books in Germany in 1933, he prophetically foretold the possibility of this denial of information, this control of communication. "This battle is not just a battle of lands, a war of conquest, a balance-of-power war. It is a battle for the mind of man, not only for his body. It will decide what you and you and you can think and say, plan, dream, and hope for in your inmost minds for the next thousand years."

"Who communicates what to whom by what medium, under what conditions, and with what effects?" asks Douglas Waples. "Reliable answers to this complex question at regular time intervals would greatly clarify the process of social change via communications and would simplify predictions of impending changes." The sociologist "should expect to learn the relation between noteworthy social changes and the changes which public communications advocate. To what extent are changes in the content and diffusion of public communications related to changes in social organization and social institutions? . . . Probably the outstanding 'change' in public communications is the co-ordination of all mediums as

weapons of total war." Summarizing Waples' article, the editors conclude that the effect of communications today has probably been "to retard rather than to accelerate social change".(14)

Once upon a time communication between humans was limited to the market place and the home, and every man's house was his castle. Now the salesman no longer needs to ring the bell and put his foot in the door. He comes into your home in your leisure moment selling you ideas which stir your emotions and stimulate action. No longer need you go to the political rally. The appeal for your vote is brought to your fireside. With sixty million radio sets in thirty million homes, most heard of the attack on Pearl Harbor within an hour. More than ninety million it is estimated listened to the President two days later. But what did we hear?

We hear of events. The facts come to us in pieces like a knocked down prefabricated house. When you put them together to form a house or an opinion it follows the design of the planner. Only when we are sufficiently conscious that the facts reported to us are so shaped that opinions based on them are predetermined will we be aware of the dangers that face us.

Our education denies us information. It bars off whole fields of knowledge. It has deprived us of our divine heritage, our simian curiosity, the questing attitude of the Greeks. The stultifying school routine, concentration on unimportant and deadening subjects for mental discipline, the conditioning processes of society, have made us fit for the stamp mills to turn out citizens or robots branded as true to pattern. After four years of college hardly a man remains alive who remembers the enthusiasms of his earlier days, and if he does he carefully conceals them lest he be considered queer.

We are coming into an electronic period. News by teletype and events by television may soon be available in the home. All these new means of communication require power, machinery and technology. Ownership is easily concentrated and controlled. A dictator to stay in power must control the means of communication.

Only when we have interest and curiosity to inquire how communication is controlled, how we get our ideas, will we demand freer and more perfect communication among individuals and peoples. Clement Williams paints a picture of mutual acquaintance of peoples fostered by free communication. When the air is free so that we may tune in and talk with individuals in an international language in Central Asia or Central

Africa, when individuals may interpolate their interpretations of the radio speaker's assertion of what the abstraction "England" or "China" "wants" or their "honor demands", then we may promote intellectual cooperation to supplement or supplant the so-called international relations conducted by governments, which mean men like Vansittart, Hull, or Stalin.

"Electronic communication will tend to spread international amenities and cooperation along the whole boundary of vital contacts between peoples. . . . 'We the People' may express mass purpose and . . . peoples in different countries may develop a great variety of common interests and ways of cooperation outside the political relationships." (15)

NOTES

(1) The extensive literature on the nature of communication often shows a drift toward the metaphysical, away from the biological. But communication involves a living thing, one capable of receiving a sensation. It is possible to say that when you stub your toe against a stone the stone communicates to your toe the sensation of hardness. That is getting toward the metaphysical, like the claim that Niagara gives off no sound unless there is an ear to hear it. But sound waves can be intercepted by other than ears,—hairs and antennae. Much of the writing does not stand the biological test.

"Communication involves two elements: an idea to be transmitted and a technique for its transmission from sender to receiver. The social evolution of man parallels the growth of these two: the development of human thought, and the development of ways and means for its effective interchange. . . . Language is man's chief *dévice* of communication." (Earle Edward Eubank, "The Concepts of Sociology: A Treatise Presenting a Suggested Organization of Sociological Theory in Terms of Its Major Concepts", Heath, 1932)

Arthur F. Bentley in "Behavior, Knowledge, Fact" (Principia Press, 1935) splits up communication into numerous components, considers communicative behavior, the thing communicated, etc. "Beyond this requirement of at least two participants if there is to be any 'communication' at all, the word has a still broader implication of meaning. There must be something the communication is 'about'."

(2) The social distinctions of human society are recognized and have been studied as the order of dominance in practically all gregarious animals. There is little need of social distinction among a pioneering people or among animals that live a solitary or predatory life. Zuckerman has published much on the subject of dominance among the *Hamadryas* baboons, Maslow on other primates, Schjelderup-Ebbe on the pecking order among various species of birds, and G. K. Noble has demonstrated a social order even among fish.

W. C. Allee of the University of Chicago has made the most continuous series of studies on dominance or the pecking order among barnyard fowls. Order of

dominance is maintained even where the group is all of one sex, changes with the failing strength of one of the group or the introduction of a new individual. Since Allee's "Social Life of Animals" (1938) there have been approximately 50 to 60 books and articles dealing with social life among birds, primates, and other animals. For a readable summary of some of the literature, cf S. H. Britt, "Social Psychology of Modern Life" (Farrar & Rinehart, 1941).

(3) "When we say 'our rulers', we mean those who are engaged in the manipulation of symbols. There is no escape from the fact that they do, and that they always will, rule mankind." (Alfred Korzybski, "Science and Sanity", 1933)

(4) Richard Tracy La Pierre in "Collective Behavior" (McGraw-Hill, 1938) elaborates the gesture theory of communication. He cites in support E. Jacobson, "Electro-physiology of Mental Activities", *American Journal of Psychology*, 1932, 44. The attempt to interpret the behavior of the individual in groups, largely due to E. A. Ross, Gabriel Tarde, Emil Durkheim, has been freed from the 'group mind' myth and taken off the "airy diet of instincts and put on a nourishing diet of factual data". We now know "that the personality of the human being is acquired in the course of social interactions with other human beings", a reflection of the culture in which the individual develops. A human being no more acts independently of his surroundings than a molecule of oxygen does when isolated or in the presence of hydrogen or iron, and that behavior is affected by the conditions, temperature and the like. The "socialized individual" has more than one pattern of behavior, each more or less appropriate to the situations to which he has to adjust himself.

(5) "In our American civilization we speak a Germanic language shaped in England with the absorption of a larger Latin content, have a Palestinian religion, eat bread and meat of plants and animals probably first domesticated in or near Western Asia with additions from tropical America, drink coffee from Abyssinia and tea from China, write and read these words with letters originating in Phoenicia, added to in Greece, given their present shape in Rome, and first printed in Germany. . . . In culture the tremendously conservative force of organic heredity is not operative. . . . Cultural patterns therefore tend to be short-lived: we may trace them for a few thousand years, but not for many millions." (Dr. A. L. Kroeber, professor of anthropology, University of California, "Structure, Function and Pattern in Biology and Anthropology", *Scientific Monthly*, Feb., 1943)

The late Edward Sapir, whose little book "Language" (1921) still remains the best on the subject, tells us that scientific philologists have lost their interest in searching for the actual origin of language. In the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* he wrote, "Its roots probably lie in the power of the higher apes to solve specific problems by abstracting general forms of schemata from the details of given situations. . . . The habit of interpreting certain selected elements in a situation as signs of a desired total one gradually led in early man to a dim feeling for symbolism. . . . Language is not so much directly developed out of vocal expression as it is an actualization in terms of vocal expression of the tendency to master reality . . . by the reduction of experience to familiar forms."

Rudolf Carnap in his "Introduction to Semantics" (Harvard University Press, 1942) puts everything into terms of "language". "A language . . . is a system of sounds, or rather of the habits of producing them by the speaking organs, for the purpose of communicating with other persons, i.e. of influencing their actions, decisions, thoughts, etc. Instead of speech sounds other movements or things are sometimes produced for the same purpose, e.g. gestures, written marks, signals by drums, flags, trumpets, rockets, etc. It seems convenient to take the term 'language' in such a wide sense as to cover all these kinds of systems of means of communication, no matter what material they use. Thus we will distinguish between speech language (or spoken language), language of writing (or written language), gesture language, etc."

(6) A second edition of Korzybski's "Science and Sanity" was published in 1942 by the Science Press, Lancaster, Pa.

Some of the difficulties of communicating and the frustrations that result are made clear, with diagrams, in the introduction by Korzybski and Kendig to "A Theory of Meaning Analyzed", General Semantics Monograph Number III (Institute of General Semantics, Chicago, 1942). Because of different experience, communicants must start with different assumptions. There result "vague and uneasy feelings of inadequacy, contradiction . . . lack of communication, blocking of intelligence, cultural lag, protest, doubt, disillusionment, cynicism, helplessness, hopelessness, etc". Psychotherapy, by making assumptions conscious (assumptions in science are always conscious), clears the way, and the use of language which is more structurally in consonance with the facts of the universe and life automatically eliminates "silent assumptions" which are implicit in our language, —all of which makes for more nearly satisfactory communication.

(7) E. E. Eubank remarks, "All cognition is in reality *re*-cognition, or the discovery of the resemblance of the immediate object of experience to other objects previously known". ("The Conceptual Approach to Sociology" in "Contemporary Social Theory", edited by Barnes and Becker, Appleton-Century, 1946)

"What Is Knowledge?" asks Archie J. Bahm, who sits between two chairs, philosophy and sociology, at Texas Technological College (*Scientific Monthly*, March, 1943). Offering some suggestions, he concludes, "It is hoped that the reader has been aroused sufficiently to investigate other types of answers such as rationalism, idealism, scepticism, agnosticism, critical realism, neo-realism, pragmatism, positivism or the author's proposed 'tentative realism'." These theories, all conceived in the recent time of the past few thousand years, might be tested by seeing how they would work out at some time in the past,—with Cro-Magnon man twenty-five thousand years ago, with Neanderthal man five hundred thousand years ago, or with our pre-human ancestors before they came down from the treetops ten million years ago, or with the earthworm or the protozoan.

Man's mental range has till within a century been limited to a few thousand years. Few men today have extended their range over the period made known by the archeologist, few indeed over the ten million years or so man has been on the earth. Because our knowledge is limited, our beliefs are shaky, unsubstantial.

Millions repeat, "I believe in the Holy Ghost". How many actually do? Thousands unashamedly and enthusiastically declare, "I believe in evolution". But to few are the processes actual.

Man in his attempt to understand and explain has floundered through his ontogeny and phylogeny, through ontology and epistemology, questioning what is knowable and spinning endless theories of knowledge. Countless are the volumes produced by those who had little knowledge of the world about them, who undervalued the possibilities of experience, and lived within a vacuum encased in bone.

Always fascinated and misled by the idea that it was possible to absolutely know something about absolutes, such are prevented from knowing about the things about them, the beauties, the charm, the sweetness, the dangers, the adventures that this earth offers. Others have held to the dogma that all knowledge came of God, revealed to some favored individual at some time in the past. Raised up in this idea, they fail to receive the continued revelations of his creation that have come to those who have studied his handiwork of the long past. Within a century their sensate world has become an expanding universe, by the use of lenses, not mirrors. Greater revelations are yet to come through promises electronic and supersonic.

In Bacon's time it took courage to speak against the Scholastic philosophers who then dominated thought. But he lashed out at them. "Having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading (but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors, chiefly Aristotle their dictator, as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges) and knowing little history, either of nature or time, they did, out of no great quantity of matter, and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning, which are extant in their books."

(8) In "The Political Propaganda of 44-30 B. C." in "Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome", Volume XI, 1933, Kenneth Scott thus concludes his study of propaganda in Augustan Rome:

"The manner in which nations were roused to war and the methods by which they prosecuted it in the first century before Christ differed very little from those of the twentieth century of our era. . . . In the whole period from 44 to 30 B.C. we find both Octavian and Antony making every effort in the struggle for power. Public opinion had to be won, and every sort of intrigue was to be used if there was any chance of its success. Spies, bribery, scurrility, personal attacks, foreign and domestic alliance, the dissemination of handbills in the enemy's camp, promising rewards or defaming the foe, the falsification or suppression of reports from the front, all bulk large in the politics of the civil war that consumed the republic and created the empire, phoenix-like, from the ashes."

(9) Gabriel in tracing the 'course of democratic thought' through the years 1914-17 writes, "The propaganda which emanated from London and Paris emphasized with endless repetition two points. The Entente fought for right and justice, for liberty and democracy. The Central Powers believed in autocracy. They were dominated by militarism."

President Wilson "lifted war propaganda from the level of the goblin story of the Belgian babe with hands and feet cut off to that of a call to his fellow countrymen in the twentieth century to take up the old search for the Holy Grail. In his demand that the world be made safe for democracy he assumed the role of prophet of the American democratic faith. He reminded the people of its great doctrines: the doctrine of the moral order, the philosophy of progress, the doctrine of the free individual, and the doctrine of the mission of America to carry democracy to the world. . . .

"Abstractions are, however, as religious leaders have known for centuries, notoriously ineffective in moving masses of men. Abstractions must be translated into concrete symbols. Before April 2, 1917, the negative symbol of the military colossus of Europe had taken fairly definite form. The images suggested by the phrases 'Hun' and 'blonde beast', used by the Allies, were familiar in most American households. . . . After the American declaration of war it became the duty of the Creel Committee to sharpen the representation of the enemy as a bogey and to bring the developed symbol into direct relation with the democratic faith." (Gabriel)

(10) Writing from London in 1900 after the Boer War, "Mark Twain delivered his analysis of civilization, enumerated what he esteemed as its virtues, and burst out in wrath against the claim that imperialism was spreading civilization among benighted peoples", the Beards remind us.

"Happiness, food, shelter, clothing, wholesale labor, modest and rational ambitions, honesty, kindness, hospitality, love of freedom and limitless courage to fight for it, composure and fortitude in time of disaster, patience in time of hardship and privation, absence of noise and brag in time of victory, contentment with a humble and peaceful life void of insane excitements—if there is a higher and better form of civilization than this I am not aware of it and do not know where to look for it." But, Twain added, "My idea of our civilization is that it is a shabby poor thing and full of cruelties, vanities, arrogancies, meanness, and hypocrisies. As for the word, I hate the sound of it, for it conveys a lie; and as for the thing itself, I wish it was in hell, where it belongs."

- (11) "We think so because all other people think so;
 Or because—or because—after all, we do think so;
 Or because we were told so, and think we must think so;
 Or because we once thought so, and think we still think so;
 Or because, having thought so, we think we will think so."
 Ascribed to Henry Sidgwick (1838-1901) in H. L. Mencken's
 "New Dictionary of Quotations" (Knopf, 1942)

(12) "I find it difficult to get information. For months we have had no correspondents in Berlin able to send out news and those who just arrived in New York were cooped up so that they did not have a very full knowledge. Those correspondents, I think, are inclined to send somewhat too optimistic views about the bad conditions in Germany and that, certainly, is true of the news we get from Ankara and Stockholm and Bern. They picture things worse than they are, I

think, in Germany and, similarly, refugees over here are inclined to wishful thinking." (Sidney B. Fay, speaking on "Germany and the Post-War Settlement" at a conference at Harvard late in May, 1942)

(13) Discussing "Communications and the Social Future" in "Social Institutions in an Era of World Upheaval" (Prentice-Hall, 1942), Harry Elmer Barnes writes, "Social groups and entire nations may be manipulated by propaganda as never before. The great danger in these remarkable transformations lies in the fact that they have been brought into being in a planless fashion, purely as a product of the competitive system and motivated almost solely by the desire for pecuniary profits."

"Communications and Public Opinion" was announced in the spring of 1942 as a program of study and research by the University of Chicago. The faculty committee directing this program, which includes Lloyd Warner, "undertakes to initiate and co-ordinate studies" and "research in the functions, processes, techniques, content, values, effects, and other elements of public communications in their social setting". Deferred men will be trained "for professional service with federal and other agencies concerned with problems of national morale, analysis of enemy propaganda, the sampling of public opinions, and the social effects of promotional activities". (*American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1942)

(14) "Communications", by Douglas Waples, *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1942. "The topics which deserve reporting include censorship, voluntary and otherwise; the 'monitoring' and analysis of foreign shortwave broadcasts; the formulation and broadcasting of counterpropaganda to enemy states; the methodical analysis of the United States foreign-language press; and the systematic use of polling and other means of communicating public opinions to government officials." The use of polling "represents an expression of hitherto inarticulate public opinions which are bringing new influences to bear upon social change. . . .

"The most conspicuous effect of communications upon public opinions toward controversial issues is a reinforcement of existing opinions. The present tendency to identify 'communication' and 'education' is thus a source of serious confusion. One result is a widespread and somewhat hysterical notion that propaganda is omnipotent—a notion which the press agents and public relations counsels have naturally encouraged." Cf "Print, Radio, and Film in a Democracy" (University of Chicago Press, 1942).

(15) "The economic functions of government under either capitalism or socialism have so multiplied as to place on statesmen powers and responsibilities which transcend human capacity and character. The result is that too much of the life and destiny of mankind is contingent on political decisions. The 'honor of the nation' which people are asked to defend, consist unduly of the careers, the temper, and the 'face' of government officials." (Clement C. Williams, "The Science Front in Winning the Peace", *Survey Graphic*, Feb., 1943)

DISTORTING HISTORY

In the process of transmitting our culture it is inevitable that with the wisdom of the past some errors be handed down. Explanations that in the past seemed the best may now appear false interpretations or mythical beliefs.

Written history glorifies the victorious. The defeated rarely had an opportunity to tell their story. The victims, far from being presented justly, were more likely to be subjects for obloquy. As Max Lerner reminds us in "It Is Later Than You Think", "History is written by the survivors. . . . Actually the so-called 'lessons' of history are for the most part the rationalization of the victors." (1)

The historic record that has survived was written by those granted opportunity by their overlords. Kings and mightiest monarchs at their courts kept not only fools to amuse, but chroniclers to magnify their egoes, virtues, and victories.

What was recorded as history was consequently not entirely fortuitous. More reliable is the recent extension of man's story revealed by the spade of the archeologist, and the record of the rocks read by the paleontologist. This record was made before human purpose devised the arts of manipulation.

The distortion of history for a particular time or place may or may not be wholly designed. Historians are men with convictions, sympathies and antipathies, which they regard as principles. The world that they attempt to record and interpret varies so widely that "the wildest dreams of Kew are the facts of far Peru, and the crimes of Clapham, chaste in Martaban".

Historians today, for the most part kept in subsidized institutions of ecclesiastical origins, reinterpret the propaganda of the past to suit the needs of the time. These academic chairholders make a great claim to objectivity. In his 1933 presidential address to the American Historical Association, Charles A. Beard showed how unsubstantial is that claim:

"Any selection and arrangement of facts pertaining to any large area of history . . . is controlled inexorably by the frame of reference in the mind of the selector." Reporting the 1939 meeting of the same associa-

on, Caroline Ware wrote, "In recent decades . . . the sight of historians coming propagandists in war time cast doubt not only on the individual historians but on the possibility of real objectivity." ("The Cultural Approach to History", Columbia University Press, 1940)

Much of the blame for international antagonisms Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard, at the University of Pennsylvania, September 20, 1940, put upon historians "who have compiled case studies of abnormal and exceptional behavior and stressed national differences to the exclusion of essential national likenesses Diplomatic history has been an diplomatic account of the distempers of nations."

The struggle for power, history in the making, involves politics. The successful become statesmen and their propaganda history. But much of that becomes history is not generally known at the time. Diplomats prefer to work in secrecy and those who are putting across political measures can do it more effectively if not under observation.

The lineal descendants of the chroniclers are increasingly in demand by groups in control. They sit in information bureaus and wear the robes of publicists and commentators. Never have there been assembled so many as today in the capitals of the warring nations.

In examining documentary sources, the reader should question: "Has the author interest in deceiving the reader?" "Was the author under pressure?" "Was he influenced by sympathy or antipathy?" "Is there evidence of literary or dramatic motives to distort the truth?" (2)

"History has been regularly invoked to substantiate the claims of the conservative", James Harvey Robinson emphasized. History has "been the instrument of those who wanted to prove cases". "The past is an almost unlimited storehouse of events. Anybody who recounts it must impose some kind of pattern on it," George Soule reminds us in his *Strength of Nations* (Macmillan, 1942). (3)

Historical writings, however, Beard points out in *America in Midpassage*, may be used by any pressure group sufficiently influential, religious or revolutionary. It has "been employed by Catholics and Protestants in their long struggle for possession of the human mind in the West. Voltaire . . . made it a dynamic force for the French Revolution. Under the guise of romanticism, history . . . served the reaction."

The scientific critical methods of history which developed in Germany were first introduced in America when President Eliot prevailed upon Henry Adams to come to Harvard in 1870 to teach. Until then history

had been looked upon as literature, and much of it was story telling of heroes and myths.

The teaching of history does not yet follow that critical method. "In many schools American history may now be taught only in terms which self-appointed patriots deem desirable", declared President Angell of Yale at the Harvard Tercentenary in 1936. On the same occasion Professor Robert Ulich of Harvard reflected the suspicion and fear that the teaching of history may be used to sustain present prestige and privilege. He put it succinctly:

"History is a danger if it helps to retain customs and opinions which are no longer relevant to the demands of living society" and "if it supports groups which have a greater interest in traditions than in constructive and forward-looking ideas of their time".

Presidents and trustees of our universities and colleges, who have to keep open their pipelines to the great financial centers, see to it that teachers of history and other social subjects are selected with care, then conditioned and kept in a proper state of subservient timidity. The system results in men once liberal and independent becoming, with exceptions, tamed stooges. (4)

"It is not difficult to understand the hesitancy of conscientious historians to relate the events they chronicle with the alluring but dangerous controversies of the hour. But the carrying of this attitude to an extreme deadens the story of the past by depriving it of living interest in the present, and, on the other hand, deprives the present of the possibility of illumination from the past", recently remarked President-Emeritus William Allan Neilson ("Challenge to Our Colleges", *N. Y. Times Magazine*). "Economics and government lead even more directly into the field of contemporary controversy, and the timid teacher is tempted to keep out of trouble."

With these warnings in mind, the recent propaganda of the *New York Times* and President Conant of Harvard for more teaching of American history may well be looked upon with some suspicion. It might be taught in a way to lead to an awakened awareness and desire to improve our way of life, or it may lead to stupid stultification. One need not go all the way with Philip Wylie, who writes, with the fire and zeal of an old time Presbyterian dominie, to the text of Christ's words, "O Generation of Vipers" (Farrar and Rinehart, 1942):

"American history of the school brand is a disgrace to the human

cerebrum. It is taught as if America, an infallible nation, rose through heroism from dire persecution, with a shining escutcheon. This is not the stuff to give drips, because it compounds drippery. In the first place, its inhuman excess of virtue makes it unreal and thus very dull. In the second, it in no way educates. . . . Our history is every human history: a black and gory business, with more scoundrels than wise men at the lead, and more louts than both put together to cheer and follow. . . . The teaching of history . . . is a shoddy performance and all educators now alive should, in fairness, be given the noose and faggot for it."

NOTES

(1) "Where a battle has been fought, you will find nothing but the bones of men and beasts; where a battle is being fought there are hearts beating", Thoreau wrote in his short essay on history. "The voices of the past speak in oracles; and only the master of the present and the architect of the future can hope to decipher their meaning", was Nietzsche's view.

"Many a hero now forgotten sleepeth quiet underground, and upon the earth no echoes of his glory ever sound" (Sadi's "Gulistan"). "Some village Hampden, that, with dauntless breast, the little tyrant of his fields withstood, some mute inglorious Milton here may rest, some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood" (Gray's "Elegy").

(2) The critical methods to be used are outlined by F. S. Chapin in his "Field Work and Social Research" (Century, 1920), cited by George Lundberg in his "Social Research" (Longmans, Green, 1942), p 127.

(3) As Mr. Dooley put it, "Historyans is like doctors. They are always lookin' f'r symptoms. Those iv them that writes about their own times examines th' tongue an' feels th' pulse an' makes a wrong dygnosis. Th' other kind iv histhry is a post-mortem examination. It tells ye what a counthry died iv. But I'd like to know what it lived iv."

(4) A professor of history in one of our great state universities writes me, July 2, 1941, "As one historian who tried to learn something practical from his subject—especially recent history—I want to say that you are an infinitely better historian than most of the professionals. In fact, I am pretty much disgusted with most members of my guild. Only three or four years ago at least 90% of the historians were 'revisionists' with respect to the last war, and nearly all of these 90% thought our entrance into that war was bad for all concerned, Europe and ourselves. From my own contacts and questionings I estimate that now at least 75% are for making the same blunder again. One of my friends recently wrote an article entitled 'The Usefulness of Useless History'. I once thought history might become useful, but now I feel inclined to do a piece and call it 'The Uselessness of "Useful" History'. But I could not get it published, I imagine."

BUILDING IDEOLOGIES

When a boy is suspected of raiding the preserve closet, the damning evidence of jam on his face may bring from him explanations and excuses. Groups, too, made conscious of some act which has attracted attention, embarrassedly attempt explanation. Those who guide political events may find it necessary to screen their activities or, if discovered, to excuse them when their purposes could not be openly declared.

A government or the group acting in its name must sometimes act quickly to surprise and overcome opposition. The coup accomplished may be justified by quoting precedents, or rights, divine, ethical, or legal, or by some explanation, excuse or ideology. Such may take the form of recondite theories.(1)

In his "Collective Behavior" (McGraw-Hill, 1938) Richard T. LaPiere of Stanford University makes clear that such "explanations" are "socially provided" and may have traditional or religious sanction. They justify the pattern of behavior as 'right' or 'normal'. But each people have their own pattern of behavior, for which they have an ideology, which is 'right' for them. But if 'right' only for the group, then there is no absolute 'right' for the race.

The term 'ideology' was originally used by the eighteenth century philosopher Condillac with reference to mental patterns supposed to be derived directly from sensations. Ideas, LaPiere explains, "are of social derivation and . . . may have no relationship to nonsocial reality. . . . The idea that spinach is a good food is an ideological part of social reality. It may or may not be valid in terms of nonsocial reality. . . . All ideas concerning the nature of reality which are derived from social reality but which are not verified in terms of nonsocial reality are herein designated as ideologies. . . .

"The distinction between the ideologies and the actual functions of social interactions is most clearly evident in those sorts of collective behavior ordinarily described as involving ulterior motives. . . . To accept the ideologies of social interaction as evidence of the function of that interaction would, therefore, be much like taking the politician's professions as gospel truth. On the latter basis, political history would

become a catalogue of politicians' lies. . . . The student of collective behavior must never proceed upon the assumption that people can and will give a valid explanation for their behavior."

Ideologies may be created to excuse or explain acts contemplated, going on, or accomplished. Some ideologies are built up long in advance, like that of Marx, but they are usually shot full of holes before their devotees have an opportunity to put them into practice. And patching the holes may result in such modifications that Marx would feel very much distressed in Stalin's country of Lenin's revolution.

Frequently agile minded disciples of a rough handed dictator will be quick enough to create an ideology while the act is going on, to screen and conceal what is actually happening. The people must be fooled. There is nothing particularly human or philosophical about this kind of behavior. It may seem simple minded to dignify such a bit of intellectual camouflage as an ideology. The catbird is even more skilful than these human ideologists in distracting attention by changing its overt behavior. If its eggs are threatened by a snake, it will attempt to draw off attention by floundering on the ground with an apparently broken wing, imitating animal cries.

But it is usually after the fact that 'ideology' in support of it is built up. Mussolini's defensive ideology of Fascism followed his seizure of power. In a time of confusion he took bold and illegal measures, with the connivance of bankers anxious to save the propertied classes from the communistic threat. In this he was following in the footsteps of the condottieri who centuries before had sold their services to protect the bankers of the time, the Medici or whatever group in control needed to employ them.

The Fascist oratorical attempts to justify and explain were at first impressive with resounding words. Eventually their writers constructed a more coherent ideology of Fascism, enlarged as occasion required to include the corporative state. Later a totalitarian philosophy plausible enough to appeal to the world's propertied and privileged classes was hammered into shape, and eventually treated with respect in academic circles, as Pareto's doctrines were brought into service.(2)

The ideologies that prevailed in Germany during the years of humiliation and defeat were, as one would expect, those of a despairing people. The German mind had early taken a metaphysical turn. As Buckle remarked in the nineteenth century, the only two people who

thought alike were the Germans and Scots, who reasoned deductively, all others inductively. The Scots in Dr. Johnson's time, long impoverished and suppressed, were generally regarded with contempt, much as the Germans were later. If generations have lived on oatmeal or black bread, there may be a turn to compensatory philosophy. High thinking, it is said, goes with plain living.

Influenced by theological reformers like Calvin, the Scots came to excel in theological metaphysics. Their thoughts were then on God, — until Mammon no longer scorned them. Now the influence of Calvin has faded. The Thirty Years' War and the Napoleonic Wars may have had something to do with turning the German mind to the intricacies of theological metaphysics which, with growing hope of a place in the sun, turned to political theorizing.

The theory of the state has been a central theme in Germany. Due to Richelieu's machinations, Germany was left after Westphalia in some four hundred fragments, separate governments. Napoleon reduced them to one hundred, Bismarck to forty, Hitler to one. During that process of unification there was naturally much theorizing. Sovereignty and parliamentarianism have long occupied the English mind. This, too, is a natural result of the long period of readjustment between Crown and Parliament. In America the libraries are filled with books on the Constitution and democracy which, as Gabriel points out, in the past century have become our equivalent symbols. (Cf p 76)

A people's thought, rationalizations and ideologies are not unrelated to their neighbors nor to the portion of the earth on which they live. Moreover, national policies are modified as conditions change, and ideologies follow. In time of stress or siege the theories and ideologies of an earlier static, peaceful time are challenged or discarded. New ideologies must support the inevitable new line of action. Each people is conditioned by the exigency or national emergency which affects its primary interest.

"War allows and even urges people to behave in ways which would send them to jail and to death in times of peace. Thus, in all civilizations in peace time, a man is forbidden to kill another man, even his enemy, but when war comes he is commanded to kill all the men he can, of a certain group who may for the time being be called enemy", Pearl Buck told Lawrenceville students ("Manners and Civilization", in "Men of Tomorrow", Putnams, 1942). (Cf "Ideals Without Vision")

Ideologies have long been taken as the ultimate reality, the spring of action, the reason for or cause of behavior. Now it is beginning to be realized that they arise or are devised, consciously or unconsciously to screen, explain, or excuse the acts or policies of ruling classes as a means of holding the people loyal.

NOTES

(1) "The rhetoricians and sophists retained by the State for its defence in the person of professors, members of academies, and Privy Councillors, employ an abundance of learned phrase to prove the superficiality of the criticism and the insignificance of the critics from a moral, political, or social point of view." (Max Nordau, "Interpretation of History", Moffat, Yard, 1911, p 301)

When this is pointed out, it becomes the duty of those in subsidized institutions to throw a smoke screen of exaggeration and ridicule, as does Everett Hughes in his otherwise critically appreciative review in the *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1942, of "When Peoples Meet: A Study in Race and Culture Contacts", edited by Alain Locke and Bernhard J. Stern (Progressive Education Association, 1942). "The notion that on some unholy Olympus the lords of this earth have a laboratory in which they invent the ideas and ideologies of man" runs through the book. These ideologies "they drop among mankind, who innocently and stupidly accept them to their own undoing and rush out to oppress, lynch, and vilify their brethren whom they would otherwise take to their bosoms in Christian love".

(2) This suggestion arouses the ire of one, who writes, "It is an insult to Pareto's memory to say that he was one of the creators of Fascist ideology!" Not a "creator of" but used by the creators in building an ideology as a defense, as has long been the custom of men to take and distort to their use what they might "require". "When 'Omer smote 'is bloomin' lyre, he'd 'eard men sing by land an' sea; an' what 'e thought 'e might require, 'e went an' took — the same as me! They knew 'e stole; 'e knew they knowed. They didn't tell, nor make a fuss, but winked at 'Omer down the road, and 'e winked back — the same as us!" Mussolini took over Pareto — but didn't wink back.

As for the bankers' backing and the academics' respect, there was already a Pareto cult at Harvard, established by Lawrence J. Henderson (cf his "Introduction to Pareto: His Sociology", Knopf, 1934). That helped to make Mussolini respectable when he began to preach Pareto, so that the House of Morgan raised a hundred million dollar loan, which contributed to placing Mussolini solidly in power. My own appreciation of Pareto, — that Aristophanic and Gargantuan "old billy goat of a man", with his acute understanding of man and society, his sardonic humor, in spite of the foibles of his involved, elaborate and super-erudite terminology and classifications, — has been evidenced in the *Handbook of Private Schools*, 1935 ed., p 59, 1936 ed., pp 111-13.

CHANGING DIRECTIONS

Education for hundreds of years had for its chief purpose preparation not for life and fuller living as we now understand it, but for another world. Our ancestors were taught and believed that life on this earth was a mere preliminary and testing period in which the sheep and the goats were sorted out, for an eternal life of ecstatic happiness or perpetual intense torture.

The dramatic contrast of two such futures could not but fill their minds and occupy their time. This could not but interfere with the more complete discovery of the possibilities and opportunities and the full enjoyment of the wonderful world which God had created for man. While thoughts and hopes were dwelling on the pleasures or tortures of another world, they could not with zeal build for enduring satisfactions on this earth.

Earliest man was a realist. Life was real as well as earnest when, with the dehydration of central Asia, we first came down to earth from the treetops. That was a time of confusion when man was obliged to adjust himself to a life that his ancestors had abandoned millions of years before. But he had already acquired the habit of developing hand and brain together. And with growing awareness, in spite of the vicissitudes of ice ages and a changing earth, for a million years our course was upward from the ape. None who believe in evolution, who have seen its course, will deny this. It is cynics and pessimists of short vision who deny that the direction has been upward.

Primitive man, a food gatherer for millions of years, remained an adaptable realist. To his hereditary equipment he added knowledge transmitted from previous generations and the results of experience in using his own individual intelligence to survive.

With growing consciousness of phenomena about him, the thunder caused wonderment and fear, for which he sought explanation. Lightning was attributed to a powerful old chief or ancestor. He heard their spirit voices in the winds. Still a realist in satisfying his necessities, man became in his explanations a supernaturalist. Outstanding members of the tribe, more fertile in explanations, became shamen, manipulators of

magic, originators of propitiatory ritual.

"Suppose that today we did not know that there was such a sensitive structure as the brain within the skull and we believed that the brain was inert material, like the hump of a camel. Yet if the brain of man could function as it does, might not man today, then, believe that a spirit inhabited him, governed him, made his decisions, directed him in his tasks and that when it became inactive he slept, when it became a little too active he dreamed, when it was displeased he became angry, when it was satisfied he was happy? If I were a jungle man today and were not aware that I have a brain, I would willingly acknowledge a spirit and attribute to it all the movements of my life." That's the way the late George W. Crile, the great physiologist, puts it in his "Intelligence, Power and Personality" (Whittlesey House, 1941).

And so, for thousands of years, man in all his varieties over the surface of the earth, faced with the mysteries that confronted him, relied upon the explanations of the more agile-minded members of the tribe. The early Indo-European peoples evolved some simple, vague, but rather noble explanations of nature, which our ancestors in northern Europe brought with them. Only a thousand years ago, until they began to travel, they were still barbarians, pagans to the new peoples they came in contact with. From their contacts with new cultures, there were imposed upon them thought patterns which originated in another clime with a very different people.

These Oriental elements became incorporated in our culture, literature, and art. For a thousand years now we have worn this Eastern culture like a hair shirt, in humility, hypocrisy, or pride. For thirty or forty generations we were taught that the whole purpose of life on this earth was to determine whether we should go to Hell or Heaven. All truth had been revealed a few thousand years before to a chosen people of an alien culture and since then handed down to us. Questioning of this was ruthlessly put down as heresy.

That divine curiosity that brought us up from the ape, the courage to challenge, to explore, to investigate, — this part of our heritage, education denied us. What we were taught we accepted on authority, and our heads were filled with abstractions.

Still, through the centuries the mind that roved and strayed from prescribed devotions did discover increasingly new beauty on this planet. Little by little the seeing eye of Fra Angelico was diverted in

painting angels' wings, or Fra Lippo in delineating the donor, so that they dared to portray spring flowers in the foreground.

Leonardo in portraying saints and madonnas ventured to set them against a background of landscape or sunset that had caught his eye. He it was who first in modern times explained that the fossil marine shells found on the mountain tops were not a bit of creation stopped when God knocked off work at the end of the creative day, but once had been living animals on the sea floor.

New revelations have continued to come to us from the geologists, who tell a more marvelous story of creation than the brief poetical explanation revealed to a primitive people some thousands of years ago. Now that we know how long a period was covered by the six days of creation, how tortuous has been man's upward course, we are more interested in the successive steps of his upward climb.

With understanding of our humble origin and the millions of years we have taken to arrive at our present state, we have been forced to a truer humility in the face of realities, while gaining confidence that man may become increasingly captain of his soul and master of his fate. As we have learned that God's creation is not geocentric, we have become less egocentric.

The archeologist, digging into the rubbish and filth heaps of past primitive peoples, has unraveled the long story of man's gradual adjustment or maladjustment to his varying environment, his repeated successes and failures. The anthropologist, studying the thoughtways and lifeways of varied peoples, has come to increased respect for man, and to see that we are but one species, one people, substituting for the sentimental 'brotherhood' the certitude of cousinhood.

Changing the direction in which we set our eyes enables us to discover the bounty that the world provides and the uses that we can make of it. Giving more attention and thought to these new revelations makes possible the enrichment of our lives here on this earth. Coming to understand more of life and the lives of other men, gives rise to humanistic desire to reduce the miseries to which we and our fellows have so long been subjected. Amid all the complications of this constantly accelerating process of changing directions, it is not strange that mankind is again passing through a period of confusion.

After the authority of the church weakened and before the authority of the totalitarian state gained force, the individual man enjoyed an

unwonted freedom. There was a slow regaining of something of his lost heritage, a return to the inquisitive, heretical attitude of the early Greeks which survived to St. Paul's time, as he noted. "All the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing" (Acts: XVII, 21).

More and more in our games, pageants, and athletics, we turn from the Roman gladiatorial show and the Puritan bear pit to revert to the Greek way. "The Greek boy was taught how to run a race, and immediately he went out and ran. His teachers assigned him no marks for his class work", John Erskine tells us. "He won the race or he lost it, and in either case he ran again."

In our laboratories, too, we are abandoning the Roman acquisitive, authoritarian spirit for the Greek inquisitive, individual attitude. The sciences, Erskine points out, "are the group of subjects which in our schools are taught most nearly, after athletics, in the Greek way. . . . You make the experiment yourself. If the teacher insists on making it for you in your presence you must forgive him: he is temporarily overtaken by the Roman idea of culture. He imagines that he is the performing Greek slave and that you are the liberal Roman gentleman accumulating culture by looking on." (Cf "Our Roman Culture", Handbook of Private Schools, 23d ed., 1939, pp 119-126)

Since we have been no longer dependent upon a Puritan clergy to give us the truth from their interpretation of the Word of God, our universities of ecclesiastical origin have claimed to be actively searching for the truth, the something-lost, the Eden, the Grail. Seeking the unattainable, they have been oblivious to the possibility of uncovering untruths, and many have been the pretensions of truth discovered which proved to be false gold.

Misdirection by our teachers has led us to strive for the unattainable. Failing in this and to win some satisfactions, our university product has turned to 'making good', to acquiring prestige or pelf.

An increasing minority are changing their direction, giving up the footless quests for truth and freedom and ends that cannot be attained, and turning their attention to this earth and man's relations to his fellows. In that direction lies the fuller life of more enduring satisfactions, the way of life that brought us up from the primeval slime and leads on beyond the farthest range of man's present imagining.

GETTING DOWN TO EARTH

It's a new concept that man is a child of earth, that his physical and mental characteristics are derived from and intimately related to his environment and that of his ancestors. Few appreciate how recent is our most essential knowledge of today. The word 'biology' first came into use in 1802, and it was not until sixty years later that the essential identity of protoplasm of plant and animal cell was recognized, establishing the unity of all life.

Still more recent is recognition of the relations of groups of living creatures to each other and to their environment. 'Ecology', the term for this, was first used by a zoologist. But it was the botanists in their study of plant societies that showed its significance. The same Greek root for house and home gave us economy and economics.

Not until 1935 was the first book on "Human Ecology" (Oxford) published by J. W. Bews, though Park and Burgess first wrote on the subject in 1921. Human ecology for Bews is all-embracing, dealing with man's "functional relationship to his environment . . . not merely physiological but psychological as well. . . . While in one sense, ecology is merely a view-point, in another sense it is the most complete science of life, since life is not a thing itself but a process. . . .

"The ecologic view-point regards life as an interaction between the environment and man as a living organism. . . . The result is a habit of mind, a mode of thinking, a general 'philosophy of life'. The ecological attitude of mind is one which is of great practical importance because it assists in the solving of the innumerable everyday personal problems of adjustment which are encountered by all of us. . . . Life apart from the environment does not exist. . . . Environment, function, and organism constitute together what has been called the fundamental biological triad." Angyal refers to this relationship as "a system of tensions" within the biosphere (cf p 141) "similar to Kurt Lewin's 'field forces' or 'demand qualities' of environmental situations".

In his "Development of Human Ecology in Sociology" James A. Quinn reminds us that sociologists have been slow in developing this field and "have neglected too much the contributions from other mar-

ginal fields". Eubank in "The Conceptual Approach to Sociology" remarks, "The characteristic formulations of ecology involve such concepts as" dominance, parasitism, symbiosis, centralization, dispersion, isolation, segregation. ("Contemporary Social Theory", edited by Barnes and Becker, Appleton-Century, 1940)

Human ecology includes the study of all the influences on man. Once these were all comprised in Theology, out of which came about a century ago Moral and Natural Philosophy. From the former came psychology, the special study of the soul, psychiatry, of the soul gone wrong, and the studies of individual and group behavior, including government, sociology, and economics, the approach to which in many universities is still theoretical. Natural Philosophy begat natural history, geology, and the sciences that deal with the supposedly material things of earth and life,—paleontology, physiology, embryology, entomology, bacteriology, histology, and a hundred others.

Anthropology, a late comer, at first "served as the 'unclassified' bin in many academic filing cabinets". Recently, due to Malinowski and Lloyd Warner, has come the new 'functional anthropology', which deals with human relations. The functionalists' great contribution, as explained by Chapple and Coon ("Anthropology", Holt, 1942) "has been the realization that human institutions are founded upon and must be explained in terms of the behavior of human beings as organisms".

Functional anthropology, then, is essentially equivalent to human ecology. But ecology, not limited to humans, is equivalent to functional biology. It all comes to this, — that the sub-divisions of science are temporary. All life is one, and all our ideas came out of life.

Recognition of geographic influences on man goes back to Herodotus and the medieval Moslem Khaldun. Enlarged upon by nineteenth century writers from Buckle to Shaler, and recently by Ellsworth Huntington and R. de C. Ward, who are all reviewed in Franklin Thomas' "The Environmental Basis of Society" (Century, 1925), the latest and most emphatic treatment is Clarence Mills' "Climate Makes the Man" (Harper, 1942).

"The Dynamics of Population" by Lorimer and Osborn (Macmillan, 1934) deals with the relations of geography to population change and political boundaries. George K. Zipf's "National Unity and Disunity: The Nation as a Bio-Social Organism" (Principia Press, 1941) hypothecates that there is a "saturation-point" in population, "a point where,

under particular conditions, a nation may emerge into a quasi dead-center". All these, dealing with phenomena of geographic, biological, and social significance, are ecological.

"Bio-Politics" and his later "Behavior of Nations: An Essay in the Conduct of National Organisms in the Nutritional Field" (Dent, London, 1941), by Morley Roberts, are characteristic of many treatises, stemming from Hobbes' "Leviathan", which see society as an organism in which the individuals correspond to the cells of the human body. As such, nations need food and make an effort to get it and a place in the sun. He holds that "to study this process as its phenomena disclose themselves is the task of the international ecologist".

Better founded biologically is Walter Cannon's analogy and hope that 'the wisdom of the body' politic may eventually equal the wisdom of the body physiologic (*Science*, Jan. 3, 1941). His 'biocracy' foresees a society of individuals which, like the society of cells that make up the body, will be functionally adjusted, and cooperative. But, "the technocrats and the biocrats must wait, because the democrats have the votes". (Cf "What Makes Lives", Sargent, 1940, p 222)

The development of the science of earth and man's relation thereto came rapidly during the nineteenth century, at a time when the English and the French were empire building. It was due largely to Von Humboldt, Von Richthofen, Ritter, Ratzel. But it was a Swedish historian Kjellen, who about 1900 introduced the term 'geopolitics'.

The English geographer Sir Halford Mackinder enlarged upon the influences of geography on government and history in an article in 1904, "The Geographical Pivot of History", which went all unnoticed, as did his "Democratic Ideals and Reality" (Holt, 1919, reissued 1942), written to warn his countrymen at the Versailles Conference. The idea, however, was taken up by Haushofer, the result of whose study and advice, if taken, would have kept Germany and Russia cooperative.

America's contribution has not been insignificant. Friedrich List took back to his disunited fatherland his friend Alexander Hamilton's "vision of a vigorous nation possessed of vast space" (Strausz-Hupe, *Fortune*, Nov., 1941). Brooks Adams about 1900 foresaw that the great centralizing forces at work would result in the power of the world being centered in the greatest continental stretch, in Eurasia.

The geopolitics of Mackinder was British Empire propaganda, that of Haushofer German. The latter has been abusively misinterpreted in

the belief that that was good counter propaganda. Nicholas Spykman, a Hollander, now at Yale, in "America's Strategy in World Politics" (Harcourt, Brace, 1942) presents a system of geopolitics with the United States as the center. Imitatively German in method but anti-German in propaganda are Peter Viereck's "Metapolitics" and I. A. Richard's "Psychopolitics" (cf "Retreat to the Past", p 131). A new and practical conception is elaborated by Lewis L. Lorwin in "Geo-Economics Versus Geo-Politics: A Basis for United Nations Policy", *World Economics*, Jan., 1943.

All these approaches, from many directions, lands, and peoples, show an increasing effort to get the attention of men down to earth, to lead them to realize that the influences of geography and environment cannot be neglected by statesmen, generals, dictators, or peoples in so far as they are intelligent.

Regionalism, a more recent concept, is now occupying the minds of American sociologists. *Social Forces* devotes to it three issues in 1942 and 1943. Howard W. Odum's "American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration" (Holt, 1938) is "a scientific endeavor to formulate principles and practices which would lead towards the coordination of spatial areas and their resources so that they may become effective entities the exploitation of which will serve the best interests of human well-being" (*Survey Graphic*). This fruitful approach makes obsolete the old ideas of political organization like Streit's "Union".

Ely Culbertson's is perhaps the most promising of the six hundred or more peace plans that have been definitely formulated, because his is based on recognition of "eleven regional federations" with common interests based on geography and economics.

Churchill's flying trip to the Near East brought him understanding. His speech of March 21, 1943, featured the new regionalism. Transcending American statecraft, he forecast, "Some day . . . there should come into being a Council of Europe and a Council of Asia".

Educators and statesmen, like the theologians before them, too long ignored the earth on which we live. Their gaze was in the wrong direction. They failed to bring us promised security. At tremendous cost of blood and treasure, we are now getting down to earth, and out of the waste of war will come a new understanding of regionalism, a new geo-economics, a new geopolitics, a new human ecology.

YEARNING FOR SECURITY

Changing conditions, when we are unaware of trends and have lost our sense of directions, seem dangerous and make us long for security. Survival, the first function of the individual or species, demands a degree of security. When conditions threaten, fear arises and we long for peace, protection at whatever price. This is the inevitable reaction of any organism in the effort to survive.

Avoiding new conditions, evading change,—for adjustment is painful (cf p 135 ff),—the individual or group may temporarily escape from the necessity of readjustment. For such the future holds nothing. Their thoughts, their codes, their morality, their institutions become moribund or extinct with them.

A continuance of unchanging conditions results in a sodden, static state which has proved fatal to human civilizations as Toynbee explains. "Caste and specialization, and the fatally perfect adaptation of the society to its particular environment which these two phenomena bring about between them, are just as characteristic of the Utopian and the Insect World as they are of the four actual human societies just examined [Spartan, Osmanli, Eskimo, Nomadic], which have suffered arrest. And these resemblances are significant, since the insect societies and the Utopias are both patently in a state of arrested development likewise." ("Study of History", III, Oxford, 1934)

Hope for security man long placed in the spirit of some ancestor or great chief, later in the shaman or maker of magic. To bolster his hopes, to strengthen his courage, man came to rely on the supernatural and, to support him and aid him against his enemies, created thousands of gods. Around them priesthoods and institutions have lasted so long as to seem to their votaries eternal.

Divine right to sovereignty was bestowed on kings by those who claimed supernatural authority. The Reformation gave the people sovereignty by divine right, with the blessing of their ministry. It was to the state that they came to look for ultimate security.

At a time when the American people were on the verge of civil war, their foreboding and yearning for the security of the nation was thus

expressed by Longfellow: "Sail on, O Ship of State! Sail on. . . Humanity with all its fears, with all the hopes of future years, is hanging breathless on thy fate! . . . Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears, our faith triumphant o'er our fears, are all with thee. . . ."

In one of the darkest hours of England's present war, before we came in, President Roosevelt wrote in his own hand to Winston Churchill those lines, in which the ship of state symbolizes centralized power. Before the Reformation our hopes and prayers would have been directed to the universal church in which such power then resided.

Visiting "The Arsenal at Springfield", Longfellow had written some years before, "Were half the power that fills the world with terror . . . given to redeem the human mind from error . . . the warrior's name would be a name abhorred!"

Our fears, our hopes are for the continuance of our familiar and fixed ways and institutions which we idealize. Rather than readjust our way of life to meet new conditions, we prepare to defend what inevitably will change. Today, filled with fears and misinformed, we trust our security to the power that terrorizes rather than redeems from error. So, frustrated and maladjusted, man sacrifices his slowly won freedom for security, political not theological, based on the promises of dictators, not divines.

Americans have assumed that they were born with freedom as their inalienable right. Our fathers had fought for it and established a government the purpose of which was to insure freedom for us. The current confusion and evasion is well put by John R. Baker in "The Scientific Life" (Allen and Unwin, London, 1942):

"Those who care nothing for freedom try to confuse the issue by saying that the urgent freedoms are freedom from want and freedom from fear. This obvious and self-condemned attempt to evade the issue should deceive no one. Freedom from want and fear is intended to mean absence of want and fear. Everyone desires an absence of what is obviously undesirable. Freedom means nothing negative. The word implies the positive right of individuals to choose for themselves between different possibilities of action."

Freedom is of little concern until the lack of it is felt. As restraints are laid upon a people, they are offered the hope of winning future freedoms. They are comforted with abstractions as with soothing syrup. 'Democracy' we hear increasingly more and more about as the govern-

ment becomes more highly centralized, more bureaucratic. But we are not nearly so free or democratic as when the word was suspect in 1820, as 'bolshevism' was in 1920. Similarly we hear more about 'the truth' as it becomes necessary to strain its quality by controlling communication.

As the future becomes more uncertain, there is more thought and talk about 'security'. With increasing fear, those whose vitality is vitiated, whose energies are failing, yearn for such security as releases from responsibility. That is the security the promise of which gives power to the dictator and makes the government totalitarian. It is for this the despairing sacrifice their freedom.

When there is no such promise of security, the timid advocate return to the past, to a time of authority. By evading the present and avoiding the future, they hold to the foolish hope of attaining security. Faint hearted moralists chant together, "Backward, turn backward, O time in thy flight". Behind this lies that organic tendency which leads animals to hibernate when adverse conditions approach that they cannot face. From many a pulpit and literary sanctum there comes a tone of elation that men in distress and fear are turning back to the past. They cry out in unison that only by turning back can we achieve safety and salvation. That has been the story all through the ages whenever people grew timid.

Then there are those who, lacking definite knowledge, try to equate supposed truths within their own skulls,—men of medieval metaphysical sincerity, like Reinhold Niebuhr, whose mental gyrations lead him in his "Nature and Destiny of Man" (Vol. I, Scribners, 1943) to say: "Science which is only science cannot be scientifically accurate".

For those who do not see the light, it is distressing to encounter the warm hearted faith of the scientific attitude. The fearful and faint hearted gang up on such. In hood and gown or metaphysical disguise they are attacking with the gusto of the suppressors of heresy those of the new faith. Masters of logical linguistics, they are incompetent to deal with the results of experimental work. Untrained in coordination of hand and brain, their conclusions are irrelevant in the face of the new revelations that have come from the laboratories of science. Their thoughtways set by an older discipline, they are immune to the new way of thought, the way of science.

The rear guard of these sophisticated and anachronistic agnostics has

been paraded through the 1942 issues of *Fortune*. Julian Huxley has tactfully and not too effectually attempted to show the light and explain his faith (Cf "Retreat to the Past"). The *Partisan Review* in its first two issues of 1943 stages a tourney against these retreatists. Sidney Hook vigorously jousts, taunting them for their "Failure of Nerve". John Dewey mercifully attempts a coup de grace to "Anti-Naturalism in Extremis". The jousting is continued by Ruth Benedict and Richard V. Chase, while Norbert Guterman couches his lance "Neither-Nor" against Kierkegaard's "Either-Or".

The physicist Percy W. Bridgman of Harvard, who experimentally has investigated environments of enormous pressures, declares, "If society is ever going to become a place in which intellectual activity is encouraged and intellectual ability prized, those of us who like to think have got to fight for it. . . . And we must do it now because there is no doubt that changes now taking place are leading to a worsening of the position of those who like to think as contrasted with those who do not. . . . It is by no means a certainty that society will so evolve that the individual will be allowed to engage in independent intellectual activity. The danger . . . increases with the growing command by society of techniques assuring a satisfactory degree of common ease and comfort." (*Boston Herald*, Jan. 24, 1943)

This temporary ease and comfort, mistaken by many for security, is as insecure as was the Maginot Line defensive. The security worth yearning for is worth fighting for. It is the freedom to investigate, to challenge, to compare, to draw your own conclusions, to adjust to changing conditions even if in so doing you must cast off the fardels that you have borne from the past and clear away sacred rubbish that stands in the way to the future.

There are some who can face the changing temperature, the storm, and some have sufficient vitality to joy in the contest with unforeseen conditions, to fight for freedom to use the world that God has given us. With vitality to meet and master inevitable conditions, we would long less for security. Filled with the spirit of adventure, with tolerance and understanding, our future is unbounded,—a future in which every man may have an unbounded faith in his purpose and destiny and work with religious zeal for the thing he sees which is to be.

GOING HEAD FIRST

"What is the chief end of man?" At mother's knee I was taught to reply in the terms of the Westminster Catechism, "To glorify God and enjoy Him forever". But how can man glorify God if he is not aware of God's works? And how can he know the wonders and delights of God's creation on this earth except through his senses? The story is briefly and modestly told in the Old Testament, and there are some wonderfully poetic passages in praise of God's creation attributed to Job and David. Through our senses and the great extension of their range in recent times by the use of our cortex, we have come to a broader and deeper understanding of how marvelous a world we live in and how wondrous the universe about us.

Through a long and crowded life, perhaps because of my early teaching, my admiration of the marvelous embroidery on God's footstool has been continuously and increasingly revealed to me. When I was a child I thought as a child and lived as a child. But unlike St. Paul, I have not put aside those same childish enthusiasms that still thrill me and lead me to exalt God and His works, which stand, in my growing awareness, for all there is in my expanding universe and ego. The devil has proved more elusive for me, for I can see in what's attributed to him only phases of human behavior which might be modified with increased understanding and wisdom.

Though we have escaped from something of our former egocentric attitude, we can still feel with the Greeks, as did Sophocles, "What a thing is man! Yea, wondrous is man's Sagacity; through this also he falleth. In the confidence of his power he stumbleth, in the stubbornness of his will he goeth down."

Something of this wonder, with a similar tinge of pessimism, Shakespeare caught. "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals! And yet, to me, what is this quintessence of dust? Man delights not me; no, nor woman neither."

Sophocles, like Arnold sad as he heard the sound of the sea beside the Aegean, was overwhelmed by the sense of Fate, the inexplicable. In "Hamlet" Shakespeare reflected that ancient mood. As we learn more of the earth and the universe in which we live, the revelation broadens and brightens.

Each individual from his first day on earth, just as man on his way up from the ape, becomes increasingly aware of more and more. In this process of discovering the world into which he has come and understanding his surroundings, in this process of becoming conscious,—and no one yet is fully conscious,—it is the unusual man who adds to the store of understanding or knowledge of his tribe. We call him seer, artist, genius. He may be martyred, but his revelation lives.

Anthropologists, looking upon many peoples, their accumulated discoveries, inventions, and ways of doing things, refer to it as "culture". To add something to that sum total, to show our fellows how to make better use of our glorious endowment, may well be the chief end of man. That's man's great enterprise, to make use of his senses and faculties to increase the sum of knowledge, that we may more fully use the earth in its abundance. That is part of knowing God and His works, of glorifying Him and enjoying Him forever.

To perfect himself as an animal was man's first duty, Emerson emphasized. And that means to become adjusted to our environment so that we will survive. Burke in the previous century advised, "It is . . . our business carefully to cultivate our minds, to rear to the most perfect vigour and maturity every sort of generous and honest feeling that belongs to our nature". Then with our higher endowment and increasing awareness we may be able to reshape the world we live in closer to our heart's desire.

"If there is any chief end of man, any goal or destiny supreme over all others", wrote G. Stanley Hall, "it is simply this—to keep ourselves, body and soul, and our environment, physical, social, industrial, etc., always at the tip-top of condition".

To achieve all these ends, man can only succeed by using his head, as does the woodpecker, who "works like a nigger to make his hole bigger". He "don't bother with plans of cheap artisans, but there's one thing can rightly be said: The whole excavation has its explanation: He builds it by using his head."

The chief end of man, then, is the head end, though frequently that

is the dead end. For "we belong to that aristocracy in the animal world which goes head first. That's a plan Mother Nature hit on a few hundred million years ago. She had already experimented with radial jelly fishes, side winding crabs, back squirting squids, and others that went every which way. She tried it out first with the worms. Some of them still exhibit the radial plan. But those that went head first came out ahead.

"Feelers and sense organs naturally concentrated around the prow. And a telegraphic nervous system developed, so the bridge could signal the engine room. Out of that came our brain, a kind of excrescence or boil that grew at the end of the main cable or spinal cord. . . .

"But the use of the brain alone, pure rationalization, leads only into logical mazes. . . . Using your bean implies brains, plus intuition, plus horse sense, glandular action, feeling. You must be a healthy animal, every organ harmoniously functioning. . . . Those who use their bean show an awareness to their surroundings, to others and their needs. Not only does it make them happy but it makes others so. . . . You can feed and breed and be dead from the neck up. But if you really want to live you must be alive at that end." ("The New Immoralities", pp 119-21)

The higher animals, as we call them, give a greater variety of responses to more different sorts of stimuli. The fewer who are more sensitive consider themselves the higher. Man prides himself on a much more sensitive attitude to a greater number of stimuli than the animals, to whom he would deny response to spiritual influences.

But man is learning that he is inferior in his sense perceptions in many ways to many other creatures. Eagles and vultures see their objectives far beyond the range of the human eye. The bat flying rapidly in the dark evades obstacles by receiving the reflection to its specialized cochlea of supersonic tones, inaudible by the human ear, which it constantly gives off ("Flight in the Dark: A Study of Bats", R. Galambos, *Scientific Monthly*, Feb., 1943). We may love the odors of flowers but they don't guide us to them from such far distances as they do the moth or the bee. We may detect personal odors but in that we are inferior to the hound. And we are oblivious to the scent given off by an antelope to signal danger to his fellows.

These deficiencies man has made good by devising instruments that extend the range of his senses far beyond even the most highly special-

ized of his fellow animals. And he did it by using his bean, the cortex of his forebrain, which he inherited from Cro-Magnon man. Only a few have used it, and to a limited extent, but of late a slightly larger number are coming to.

The extension of our awareness is being greatly accelerated by the development of electronics and supersonics. Electrotonics have given us the electric eye and in wartime Radar, "the most dramatic new weapon to come out of this war", which detects airplanes at night and naval vessels in the fog" (Lyman Chalkley, AP, Feb. 7, 1943).

The stars once seemed innumerable. Now we know that the unaided eye in all climes at all times can see but eight thousand, not one billionth of one per cent of the stars that in the past century have been recorded by the lens on the photographic plate. And our universe is still expanding.

For centuries it was dangerous for man in Europe to look too closely. He might discover something that ran counter to the teaching of the time. The senses were then suspect. Even today such words as 'sensuous', 'sensual', and 'sensitive' carry opprobrious connotations. Questioning of the accepted was heresy, the vilest of crimes.

Skeptical churchmen, the select and educated of the time, men like Roger Bacon, the friar, and Copernicus, Canon of Frauenburg, laid the foundation for the later heresies. Since, there has been a great increase in reliance on our senses, a return to the questioning of the early Greeks and the investigative attitude of primitive man, the insatiable curiosity of the simian.

Relieved of the fear of punishment for heresy, man returns to the old questing, challenging attitude of the Greeks, to the nosing about and investigating attitude of the primitive simian. There is no end to what this may lead to.

With adjustment to our environment, with increased understanding of all the earth offers in opportunity for achievement, enjoyment, the yearning for security and peace may give place to joy in adventuring and exploring. "Forever unsatisfied, never dissatisfied", we will glory in the discontent that leads us on to new fields, and leave happiness to the clam, contentment to the cow. We may come to feel that the kingdom of heaven, all we have hoped and yearned for, is within us, within our possibilities, within our reach. "Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?"

TURNING EYES FORWARD

There are many ways of looking at things. The ways of our grandparents are not ours. No longer do we look upon our little lives as a mere prelude to a more glorious life in a golden-streeted paradise. With eyes upward, ears attuned to supernatural voices, thoughts on another life not of this earth, man has stumbled blindly onward. Little wonder perhaps that he has not achieved his heart's desire.

Before they took to the treetops, the shrewlike ancestors of the simians, like other animals living on the ground, had their eyes set laterally the better to see enemies approaching from any direction. In the trees they had to watch their step, keep their eyes forward. Thumb and hand developed to make sure of every forward step in grasping the limb. Alertness in their nocturnal roamings quickened their senses. Exploring a step at a time, they developed the attitude of challenging, questioning, testing, accepting omnivorously for food that which proved good.

The survivors of our early tree dwelling ancestors will not be offended at this neo-Lamarckian and teleological way of briefly portraying the process, as may some scientific friends. Of these oldest families, the Aye-Ayes of Madagascar, the Tarsiers of the Philippines, the Galagos of Zanzibar, the Pottos of tropical Africa,—some scions have recently been at Harvard,—interesting information and recent portraits are supplied by Earnest Hooton in "Man's Poor Relations" (Putnams, 1942).

Primitive food gathering man, down from the treetops, brought with him this simian way of life. He kept his senses keen tracking down his food,—game, root, or seed. Therein reside the elements of the scientific attitude, largely abandoned by mankind these thousands of years under the influence of institutions we call civilized.

The fall of man came when he was diverted from this realistic attitude to one of subservient acceptance of authority. The shrewd men of the tribe, the shamen, befuddled him with their supernatural explanations and their magic hocus pocus. Out of these developed thousands of elements of our culture, religion, and philosophy, accepted on authority. Tabu to investigation, it became heresy to question.

This intellectual hierarchy, religious or secular, avoided contact with reality and spent their time splitting hairs. Medieval scholars, like those of Athens of the slave economy, never soiled their hands or sullied their minds with the things about them. To the working artisans, not scholars, we owe the advance in our ways of life and standards of living. (Cf pp 108-9, 114-5, 119, 169, 172)

Until within a century or so there was in our universities no coordination of hand and brain. There were no laboratories where under changed and controlled conditions one might test conclusions. Medicine as taught in the medieval University of Paris was theoretical, philosophical, dogmatic. Practical surgery grew out of the casual practice of the barber. Collections of curious objects,—unicorns' horns and rocs' eggs,—were collected in royal cabinets, the resort of the muses, a museum.

The new learning involves motor reactions and muscular activities as well as cerebration. It is a phase of behavior that leads to new experiences. "As recently as four centuries ago it was not in vogue even among the most learned thinkers of the time. Today it is used only incidentally by most of the people in even the most civilized countries. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the majority of even those with college degrees—do not really understand it", declared Eliot Blackwelder in his presidential address to the Geological Society of America (*Science*, April 18, 1941).

Working with hand and brain in laboratory or museum is still avoided in the formal schooling and training of our statesmen and leaders. Theirs remains in large part the classical curriculum, almost wholly unrelated to present day life. (Cf pp 115, 125, 169, 171, 188)

Science is the label we attach to the vast body of knowledge accumulating in recent time. It is a by-product of the activities of this new attitude or mode of behavior,—what we call the scientific method. The ultimate aim is not to arrive at finality, but to discover more and more significant relationships. The method is to repeat observations, to reduce the percentage error, to devise what is called an experiment, in which one condition at a time is changed in order to determine what factor produces what result.

Approaching the subject from the metaphysical and mathematical side, A. N. Whitehead has done much to clarify as well as becloud these simple ideas. Patient revision of observations, ingenuity, and increas-

ing precision have led to general connections of relations which are called 'laws', like the conservation of matter, or Newton's law of gravitation. Just as every particle of matter attracts every other particle, so every event influences every subsequent event,—and an event may consist merely in the change of relation of two particles within the atom, which are always changing. What will happen tomorrow and a million years from now depends on what's happening now. And if we are sentient and understanding, we may in our feeble way affect the course of events. We have. We do.

The word 'Science' is as much of an abstraction as 'Religion' and, like it, is featured in the Sunday newspapers. Under 'Religion' you may find in the libraries accumulated writings and interpretations so labeled, stretching over a period of thousands of years, of many peoples and civilizations, little of which has any validity for the man who leads a truly religious life today.

The scientist is still regarded as something of a modern magician, a prophet of the future, or a Frankenstein. Actually "Scientists Are Human", as David Lindsay Watson makes clear (Watts, London, 1938). Most of them are little men with characteristic narrownesses and pettinesses. Many, once they step out of their laboratories, no longer follow the scientific method but revert to ancestral methods of behavior when they step into their home, their church, their club. Humby and James comment, "The complaints that such scientists are 'narrow' and 'uncultured', though often grossly exaggerated and based on wrong criteria of 'breadth' and 'culture', nevertheless have a basis of truth". (Cf " 'Reforming' Static Enducation")

Even among the most advanced people a very small percentage devote themselves to research, the advancement of our knowledge of the world we live in. It is the rare genius like Faraday, Maxwell, or Gibbs who gives impetus to this research. Such are fired by faith in their work, in the importance of their problem, in the feeling that they are doing something for the benefit of their fellow men. No medieval devotee put in more hours at prayer than some of these 'Arrowsmith' scientists spend in their laboratories.

Great corporations do maintain hordes of technologists, chemists and physicists to work on commercially profitable problems or investigating methods and techniques that will put competitors out of business. But some corporation scientists have wider freedom to investigate, and even

that has proved profitable in the long run.

And a large number of science teachers with a limited training present fragments of this accumulated knowledge, without much correlation. The laboratory work is not infrequently associated with smells and sights that are not pleasing. In large part, too, the teaching is aimed at the inferior, those not 'up to' the classics. Consequently the teachers are apt also to be inferior. The scientific method, the way of life, is very little inculcated. "Satisfactory teaching techniques have not yet been evolved. . . . In general . . . our science teaching . . . still tends to present science as a dead body of facts rather than as a living cultural and social force" (Humby and James).

An 'age of science' this is miscalled, confusing invention and the mere classifying of knowledge with the method of science. The inventor is usually trying to save us labor or to devise ways of using power more effectively. The scientist in digging deeper, in discovering, is probably making more work for us, for every new bit of knowledge calls for readjustments, and the more we know the more we want to know, and to that, like 'the making of books' there is no end.

The amount we spend, of time, of total energy, of annual income in scientific investigation, on gaining new knowledge, is as nothing compared with the amount we spend on conserving and defending in church and state the long accepted. "One-tenth of 1 per cent of the national income" for 1934 in Great Britain, Bernal tells us, was expended on scientific research, one-fourth of which went for war purposes. "In the Soviet Union . . . the expenditure in 1934 was . . . eight-tenths of 1 per cent" ("The Social Function of Science", Macmillan, 1939). In the U. S. in 1939 Bernal estimated the expenditure to be six-tenths of 1 per cent, the greater part under private control. That would be a very small percentage of what we spent for cosmetics.

"Ours is not an age of science", Anton J. Carlson tells us. Science has done much for man, "but man may and does use these and other achievements for a greater social injury, instead of for a further social advance. Men are still driven by greed and confused by guile, rather than guided by reason based on our expanding knowledge. The world is now in the midst of one such period of violence, labeled 'the worst', because human memory is short, and even yesterday's experience is less vivid than that of to-day." (*Science*, Jan. 31, 1941)

"In times of war . . . vast numbers of people find their membership in

a 'scientific age' no preventive to believing the most fantastic tales regarding the diabolical personal and social characteristics of their enemies, to say nothing of the monstrous propensities of other people's form of government. . . . The agencies of propaganda have little difficulty in convincing even a large number of scientists of the diabolical intentions of 'The Enemy' for world conquest, enslavement of the people, and the danger of the ultimate triumph of sin and evil, according to sequences specified in familiar thought patterns. To raise the question as to the probability of these eventualities, in view of the known tendencies of individual and social action, is equivalent to siding with 'The Enemy' The superficiality of our emancipation from the fundamental thoughtways . . . becomes painfully evident. . . . To change these traditional ways of thinking about men and social events, rather than the mere diffusion of information, is undoubtedly the principal task of scientific education." (George Lundberg, "Social Research", Longmans, Green, 1942)

"Science fails us", we hear on every side. Science may have been commercialized for profit. The scientific method, however, has not failed us. Few even of our scientists yet follow that way of life. "The scientific method is one and the same in all branches", Karl Pearson announced in his "Grammar of Science" fifty years ago. "The unity of all science consists in its method, not in its material alone. The man who classifies facts of any kind whatever, who sees their mutual relation and describes their sequences, is applying the scientific method and is a man of science."

The great Chicago physiologist Carlson declares, "Nothing about the scientific method is so abstruse or mystical that it cannot be understood and mastered by every man and woman of average mentality. . . . If our citizens understood the scientific way of establishing facts and the identity of the scientific spirit with honesty and truth, our leaders would not get to first base by promising us complete freedom from want and complete freedom from fear, through any political, social, or economic order. The dreamers of the past put that goal in heaven." (*Technology Review*, July, 1941)

The scientific habit of mind,—this way of looking at things, this form of mental behavior, what we call 'thinking',—is not passive nor merely skeptical. It is a positive attitude. It makes one avid for new data, which it challenges and tests. It is all for pushing into the unknown,

exploring, discovering. It is creative in attempting to arrange facts in new patterns to build new hypotheses, iconoclastic in insatiable desire to find faults in and demolish them in order to build 'more stately mansions' to stand severer tests.

One who lives this way of life, who follows the scientific method, accepts nothing on authority. He regards the store of human knowledge, which has so rapidly accumulated, as a mere fragment of what may be known. As scientific observations have been limited to a short period of time and made under conditions little varied, any interpretation is tentative.

If one has the long historical, archeological view, he will know of the many dead cultures and civilizations recently revealed by the spade of the archeologist. If he has the long paleontological view, he will know of the many failures of species and groups now extinct. He will see that though individuals and groups and peoples and civilizations may pass, life goes on. With growing knowledge, man increasingly guides it. Already he has produced innumerable varieties of domestic animals, and made some species extinct. He will know that there is no insurance of survival of any species except through adjustment. He will know of the many species of man; *Homo*, now extinct and will have learned that our species has survived through its adaptability. To insure that continuance and survival, any individual may contribute by some observation in adding to the present sum, or in modifying the accepted structure, of human knowledge, which determines our behavior, our adjustments, our survival value.

How much more interesting this attitude makes life. With such an approach and such an outlook, it is only when lowered vitality temporarily impairs one's adaptability, or despair over the unadaptability of a particular individual or group overcomes him, that man can be a pessimist. With the future opening up unlimited possibilities, he cannot but optimistically hail it on.

"The problem of problems in our education is therefore to discover how to mature and make effective this scientific habit", John Dewey tells us. "The future of our civilization depends upon the widening spread and deepening hold of the scientific habit of mind."

GETTING UNDERSTANDING

Revelations have continued to come through all time to the open eyed and open minded who follow this simian method of investigative observation, common to primitive man and the modern scientist. To those imbued with the feeling, "I am but a stranger here, heaven is my home", these new revelations remained unknown or of little interest and brought no understanding.

An early student of entomology, — whose admonition was followed by the Harvard ant man, the late, great William Morton Wheeler, — advised his people to "go to the ant", "consider her ways", "which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest" (Prov. VI: 6-8).

King Solomon in this way gained more than knowledge, so that he could admonish his people, "Get wisdom: and with all thy getting get understanding" (Prov. IV: 7). In this he was following the method of science for, as geologist Blackwelder puts it, "the purpose of science is understanding".

Understanding, as Solomon well knew, does not involve encyclopedic knowledge. The academic head is frequently so cluttered with unrelated bits of information as to interfere with interpretation. Nor can we expect anything like 'complete understanding'. Light may be so intense as to prevent our seeing color and detail.

But a great obstacle to understanding is that our seeing may be obscured by images derived from the past, as a cataract may cloud our vision. Beliefs held sacred may prevent our believing what's before our eyes. Principles established may lead us to false interpretations. From the past we carry a heavy load of such fetters, and are hampered by tabus that interfere with our getting understanding.

But, it is complained, "Would you take from us all that is sacred, all that our fathers revered? Would you leave us nothing to cherish, to worship?" Well, most of the things that our ancestors revered have already been destroyed for us, — the old rag fetishes of the medicine men, — the right to brand slaves with a burning iron.

We long for freedom, but when the fetters are stricken from our

limbs or minds we miss the familiar restraint. Conditioned to authority and subservience, few can stand alone or strike out for themselves. But the historic road which man has come over is littered with fetishes thrown away, fetters broken and cast off, dead gods eviscerated.

There is another way to understanding, through observation which stirs emotion rather than intellect. The artist sees "the world — the beauty and the wonder and the power, the shapes of things, their colors, lights and shades, changes, surprises". Most of us see them "first when we see them painted, things we have passed perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see". Scientist and artist each in his own way brings us understanding. For them the world holds purport, life they wear "proudly, as kings their solemn robes of state; and humbly, as the mightiest monarchs use".

What can education do to help us along the way to getting understanding? If by education we mean the help or hindrance we render to children in the process of growing up, and to adults, who are capable of mental growth much later than was supposed, we can find the answer. However, we should keep away from schools and universities where traditional methods are held sacred and look about among men.

Such a study might be carried on by the case system. Look at the names of the greatest inscribed on the frieze of your public library. Investigate what they owed to formal education, to a great teacher, to the inspiration of change or response to an environment.

Take the case of Wendell Willkie. What has education done for him? Formal education made him literate, as in one generation it has the children of 160 million Russian serfs. A small town boy, he was conditioned to the American mores and made good. Taken up by Wall Street, he was reeducated and became a successful front man for a great utility corporation. He fought the Administration so effectively that he was promoted and educated for a political career. He learned from contact with go-getters, utilities men, financiers, publicists, and politicians. Successively the incentives were getting on, recognition, joy of combat, the expanding ego, the broader view. Economic motives were evidently incidental.

Then in forty-nine days away from his old environment, among men whose ways of thought were new to him, he got a completely new education. New points of view brought him understanding, new incentives for action and increased tolerance for fellow men very different

from those he had known. Of all this he tells simply and sincerely in "One World" (Simon and Schuster, 1943).

Regarded as naive about world affairs, on reaching the Near East he immediately saw that behind the facades of government in Egypt and Iraq the British were in complete control. But the Empire administrators with whom he talked "had no idea that the world was changing". Theirs was the attitude of "Rudyard Kipling, untainted even with the liberalism of Cecil Rhodes".

In Russia, as a utilities man he saw that the Volga water power project will produce twice as much power as TVA, Grand Coulee, and Bonneville combined. "A dynamic country, a vital new society . . . it has survival value. . . . It is ruled by and composed almost entirely of people whose parents had no property, no education, and only a folk heritage." Education made this possible, changing in a little over twenty years a people 98% illiterate from the beginning of time, to a people 98% literate.

In China our neglect of an awakened people "frightened" him. He warns us that the Asiatics are distrustful of Anglo-Saxon intentions. All the peoples of the earth are restless for freedom. "They ask only for the chance to solve their own problems with economic as well as political cooperation. For the peoples of the world intend to be free not only for their political satisfaction, but also for their economic advancement."

He saw "revolution taking place . . . in men's thinking, in their way of living, all over the world". The peoples of the East in ferment "will change more in the next ten years than they have in the last ten centuries". He was "distressed" and "disturbed" at Churchill's announced intent of holding the British Empire together.

Willkie returned to find "Imperialisms at Home". Denied the privilege of visiting India, he tolerantly remarks, "We cannot, with good conscience, expect the British to set up an orderly schedule for the liberation of India before we have decided for ourselves to make all who live in America free. . . . Race and color do not determine what people are allies. . . . Japan is our enemy. . . . China is our friend. . . . Nothing of importance can be won in peace which has not already been won in the war itself. . . . Only new men and new ideas . . . can win the victory without which any peace will be only another armistice."

"If every American political leader could go through the experience

that Mr. Willkie has gone through, we should have far less difficulty in dealing with the problems that will confront us from now on", remarked Raymond Clapper and, to get another point of view, took a plane for Sweden, the listening post of Europe.

Different might be our 'foreign policy' if successive commissions of open minded, independent men like Willkie and Clapper were sent to survey and report on countries which might become our enemies. Sophisticates like empire administrators and Groton-Harvard diplomats would not fill the bill. But with unprejudiced information we might arrive at fuller understanding and more economical ways of achieving such purposes as we as a people wish to attain. (Mr. Dooley, p 446)

For educators who are not political hero worshipers, the interest in this case is to analyze the factors that brought about this reeducation. The comparative view, in anatomy, in religion, reveals much about development and origins, as does the anthropologist's comparative view of the thoughtways and folkways of different peoples. Such a comparative view of peoples' aspirations and problems in relation to their environment Willkie could not get in the atmosphere in America with which he was familiar.

"Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of Education, in the elder, a part of experience," wrote Francis Bacon who well knew that impressions are sharper, clearer in youth. A great traveler, Montaigne, testified, "I deem travell to be a profitable exercise. The minde hath therein a continuall exercitation, to marke things unknowne, and note new objects. I know no better school to fashion a man's life. . . . I would therefore have him begin even from his infancie to travell abroad." Centuries later Disraeli summed it up tersely, — "Travel, the true source of all knowledge".

That's the way I got my education, through the comparative study of other peoples, by climbing into their skins and looking out at their world through their eyeholes at the things they held sacred and which to them seemed eternal. This brought less respect for beliefs but more understanding and sympathy for those who held them.

After ten years at Harvard, in which I took all the courses in natural science, as well as some psychology, philosophy, and fine arts, — the understanding subjects, not mere tool subjects, languages, which includes mathematics, — after years of research in biology and neurology, teaching botany and comparative anatomy and eight years of prep

school teaching, I found myself with a bad case of Cambridgitis. The sun rose merely to shine on fair Harvard and sank in crimson shame that it no longer could, and crept around through the dark underworld to rise once more to illuminate the hub of the universe.

Then I broke away and spent the following ten years alternately in Europe and round the world, taking with me tutors and boys preparing for college or business. To them I interpreted, as best I could as the result of much reading, the cultures of varied peoples, their political systems, religions, arts, and literatures. That was my reeducation.

More and more I was impressed that there was nothing wrong with the world as God made it, but much wrong with the fetid cesspool which man had created in which hate bred in ignorance. What was wrong was the people in it, and not much wrong with them except their behavior, the way they regarded one another, and the fetters and blinders they put upon their fellows.

The late Franz Boas, great anthropologist, brought out that the chief end of man was, as with better communication he widened his acquaintance of other peoples, to enlarge the in-group and take the outs within his circle.

Originally each isolated tribe looked upon the stranger with fear and hate. So their morality toward the in-group was different from that toward the out-group. It was right to help the members of your own group and equally right to defraud, despoil, and kill one of the hated out-group.

But though man today circles the earth with his voice instantaneously and by plane in six days, the mind of man even in our universities and chancelleries remains yet so primitive that we still hate the unfamiliar ideology, the social organization of the out-group.

Such, as we have seen, lack scientific training, the comparative view. Those who have specialized on snakes no longer hate them. Our dough-boys in the Solomons no longer hate the cannibals. Tom Harrisson, anthropologist, who lived with and knew them and their thoughtways, came to have great admiration for "Savage Civilization".

If you understand how a man came to be as he is, misogynist or misanthrope, the processes through which he has passed to make him as he is, you won't so much hate the man as the conditions that produced him. And as you come to analyze the conditions, you will give up hate as a hindrance to your endeavor to change those conditions. It takes

skill and tact to produce such change as will be lasting. Hate has no place in the scientific way of life, no place in the life of understanding.

Hating, we go forth in righteousness to war, because the other people are evil, their behavior is immoral, contrary to our principles, and arouses our prejudices, our indignation. Those in control and who have objectives in view find ways through communication to arouse us to the fighting pitch.

But slowly, painfully the in-circle is enlarging. In the process we have to break shackles, tabus, that we may achieve new freedom in our ways of thinking and of regarding others. Edwin Markham summed it all up, — "He drew a circle that shut me out, heretic, rebel, a thing to flout, but Love and I had the wit to win; we drew a circle that took him in!" Substitute 'understanding' for 'love', which has too many connotations, and it doesn't sound sentimental to me. It is something to be achieved in the future, something to aim at.

Rid of frustrations that derive from restraints and hates that breed in ignorance, we may find ways of satisfying our sense of righteousness without our present spasmodic wasteful warfares. We may make all warfare continuous, against the things we know and understand are inimical to our species.

Realizing that in variation is the hope of the species and that it is time and survival that will decide what is of value, not the application of some rule or code we have inherited, we may, instead of pretended tolerance for those who see the world differently and who have other ways of life and different beliefs, come to develop appreciation for these differences.

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INDEX

This is not a complete encyclopedic index, which would have involved many times the more than 100 hours that were put into it. But it may serve.

Authors and the subjects, but not the titles of books mentioned, are listed. Many names that occur only once are not included. Publishers with addresses are separately listed on page 505.

ERRATA

This pretentious word covers the neurotic scholars' blunders and the printers' erotic slips. There are plenty of them. Perhaps that's what Arthur Schlesinger means when he writes me of the "slings and errors of outrageous fortune". Here are a few early worms—our thanks to any birds who turn up more.

Pp 273, for "quesetion" read "question"—289, for "Boaz" read "Boas"—317, for "Heinrichs" read "Hinrichs"—331, paragraph 4, line 2, after "them" insert quotation marks—399, 403, 406, for "Lindemann" read "Lindeman"—416, for "Sweezey" read "Sweezy", for "Main" read "Maine".

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